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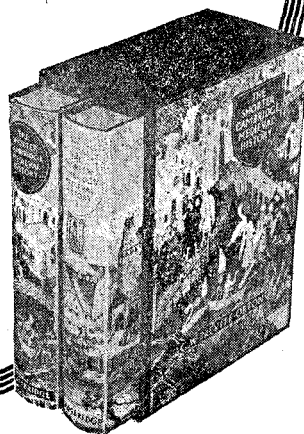
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Historianship*

J. G. RANDALL

OUR meeting tonight is part of the sixty-seventh annual convention of this Association. For two thirds of a century we have been occupied with research, with publication, with teaching, with planning, with the delicate task of passing each other's work in review, and with contacts abroad. Our many sessions suggest specialization and diversification, yet we have a vast amount in common. What we have in common is a devotion to *history*, a conviction of its importance, and a loyalty to the ideal of freedom in historical investigation.

Not all men share this conviction. Not all men understand what it is we do and why. Not all men recognize the pitfalls we seek to avoid. An occasion like this is a proper one for recalling to ourselves and to others the things which we as historians have learned about recovering the past.

*Presidential address read at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association in Washington on December 29, 1952.

I

One thing, certainly, we have learned—that history is an inescapable fact, that the past cannot be erased, that it intrudes upon us, whether we like it or not. In Georgia in the late 1790's, so intense was the indignation at the great Yazoo fraud that a legislature required every reference to that infamy to be expunged from the state records. At Louisville on the old state house grounds one reads the inscription, which may be partly based on tradition, that the fraudulent papers were “burned with fire drawn from heaven.” Here was the human wish to undo both the deed and the memory of what had been done. In the days of President Jackson a part of the record of the Senate was “expunged.” But to expunge meant to indicate what was being expunged, so that the record remained with undiminished emphasis.

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

This should be enough to remind us that history runs deep and that great human emotions and interests are bound up with the carrying over, or it may be the avoidance, of memories of the past. Distasteful memory on one hand, or wishful memory on the other, have had their effect in the popular historical process.

Another thing that we know about history is that interpretations of it constantly change. So human is the historian's task that it takes on the hue of the passing decade. Vogue, that feminine word, changeful and even fickle, has often been a factor to reckon with in historical writing. Perhaps it is men who have made it so. If we go back to the fifth century and recall the seven books of Orosius against the pagans, or if we come down to the nineteenth and recall the work of George Bancroft, we find historical patterns that were once fully the vogue but which have become as outmoded as the bow and arrow. Some vogues have more validity than others. In developing the “new history” such men as Edward Eggleston, James Harvey Robinson and many others, and back of them Macaulay, fortunately gave the historian a fresh turn in the direction of the social, the human, the readable—and, where appropriate, the revisionist.

Vogue has to do with the folk mind, or social psychology. Are there men who do not follow the vogue? Perhaps it is by such that a new vogue arises. The historian, strictly speaking, does not control, nor is he responsible for, popular ideas of history. In certain types of writing the winds of popular

thought may have controlling effect. In contrast, the findings and interpretations of the historian, if not strictly "scientific," must be authentic. A popular writer may state his original views, or he may serve, perhaps unconsciously, as a mouthpiece. Often the broad human mind as it touches, or distorts, history, is not individual; it may belong to a school, a society, a body of opinion, or a wave of sentiment. In the untutored sense it may be only a stereotype. In such a situation the influence of what is called the "profession"—by which, in the proper sense, we mean those who devote themselves to serious historical study—is at its best when its effect appears not in any rigid pattern but in standards of scholarship.

One of those fundamental standards is objectivity. When we speak of this quality we do not mean that, as between alternative conclusions, a decision should never be reached, nor that the scholar's mind should dangle in mid air. It is not the duty of a fair judge to issue no opinion, but to see that there is no tampering with the scales. If one has objectivity he should also have discrimination. The objective principle does not signify that equal weight should be given to unequal things. It means—and this might almost serve as a definition—that the essence of the thing examined comes through in the conclusion reached.

To illustrate by contrast, the opposite of historical objectivity would be, as to European history, to have one pattern presented by German writers to German readers, another by French historians for their public, and so on through the nations. In Ireland it would require one type for Ulster, another for Eire. It is not so in science, except in recent Russian biological mandates with reference to heredity. We do not speak of an Italian form of chemistry, a French or Belgian physics, and the like. Objective truth must be and is the goal of the scientist.

The question arises: Can we expect that such objectivity, such avoidance of a nationalist or partisan slant, can ever be achieved in historical writing? The answer is not altogether encouraging, but in some cases objectivity has been achieved. As to the American Revolution, for instance, British writers readily admit the merit of the American cause and the blunders of British policy, while American writers no longer consider it necessary to write in the old exaggerated nationalistic manner. One may take Egerton among Britons and Van Tyne among Americans as typical, and many other examples could be mentioned. (This is not to imply that objectivity necessarily requires an unfavorable view of one's own country. What is to be stressed, for both sides, is an open mind and an honest, unprejudiced investigation.) Among Northern and Southern writers who deal with the war of the 1860's

a fair degree of objectivity has been displayed. When this has been said, of course, it remains that in human history, with all its predispositions, emotions, and challenging complexities, we have far to go before we can be entirely free from special pleading or tendentious writing. In an imperfect world one hesitates to give a counsel of perfection; yet to seek perfection and thus approach closer to it, is the historian's pledge to the ideals of all scholarship.

We have a bureau of standards and we have services of inspection and certification in many fields such as foods and drugs, but the output of historical conclusions is subject to no such control. There are reviews in learned journals and prizes to reward excellence, but these are matters of appraisal among men of competent opinion; they are not matters of sanction and enforcement. There is no supreme court of history. This does not mean that historical judgments have no analogy to a judicial attitude of mind, nor that the field of historical thought is altogether lacking in firm conclusions. It means that the very strength of historical scholarship lies in the free market of findings and generalizations where the only enforcement is that of recognized validity and the only sanction that of competence plus integrity.

II

Since history is a matter of everyday discussion and since debate is open to all, it happens that sweeping pronouncements in what is popularly called "history" come from persons who are far from being historical students. Yet in the world of broad discussion their ideas or obsessions loom large. People will say: you remember what Washington said about "entangling alliances." But they do not remember, because Washington did not say what they assume. Or they will say: you know what caused the Civil War, or you know why the League of Nations failed. But those who speak thus are often ignorant as to the descent into the Civil War, or the Wilson administration, or the League. These are subjects that take a large quantity, not to mention quality, of historical research and understanding. There is a lamentable gap between the findings of historians and the general understanding of history. Too often that general attitude is a matter of repetitious clichés. A topic is mentioned, and out comes a stock remark or a stereotyped phrase. It is only the superficial writer dealing with history, or dabbling in it, that gets his "results" easily.

These defects in the popular grasp of history should be met by the historian with full awareness of the difficulty of his tasks of research, of conclusion, and of presentation. The historian may be content with a modest public response, but his product is of no value in a vacuum or an ivory tower.

The scholar, with an established record of competent study, confronts the public, which is in need of historical guidance. The public is hard to define, but in many respects it is different from the scholar. It includes many readers, or potential readers, whose orientation is not academic. Two things are important here: a firm realization that historical competence comes only by long study, training, craftsmanship, and experience; and along with that realization, with no concession to inferior work, one may expect that anything like an air or pose of professionalism will be overcome by that humility which becomes the genuine scholar. If it were not that history is everybody's subject, the term "professional historian," a tiresome and overworked phrase, would be unnecessary. One does not speak of a "professional physicist"; it is sufficient to say physicist, or chemist, or geologist, and so through practically all the branches of learning.

Sometimes the public may expect too much. For ambitious minds, especially for those of philosophers, the heart's desire has been for some synthesis to cover human history in all ages, empires, languages, and peoples. Such a quest would be an experiment nobly conceived. Its appeal is shown by the surprising fact that Toynbee's abridged *Study of History*, which is not the lightest of reading, became a best seller. Yet one is reminded of a remark by that perfect Vice-President, Thomas R. Marshall, referring to Atlas carrying the world on his shoulders. Marshall felt sorry for him. He had had a hard enough time carrying Indiana. Some of us may feel that while Atlas shoulders the world and perhaps stands ready to take on interstellar space, there is yet much of human interest and far-reaching significance in the biography of the "learned blacksmith" Elihu Burritt, in the history of New Harmony, and in many hundreds of local, regional, biographical, and specifically historical, though not infinitely stupendous, tasks of scholarship.

We cannot, however, escape the fact that history is conceived in broad terms, sometimes in judgment-day terms. It is common parlance to speak of history having its "verdict" and in any case there is that oft-mentioned but elusive individual, the "future historian," to look forward to. In historical scholarship the problem of generalization constantly arises. Readers do not peruse historical books for a medley of unassorted facts. They will enjoy the human story for entertainment, for richness and diversion; but beyond that they will hope for enlightened understanding of human movements, of social or cultural advance, or of the progress of society. Considering the subject merely on the level of historical composition, one must realize that an author's motive for generalization, one motive at least, may be to impart readability.

In an essay or a book that resembles an essay it is the combination of a broad pattern with appropriate detail that holds the interest. Scattered or uninterpreted items are usually boring, but when a writer puts his details in assembled array and marshals his historical instances to prove and embellish a point that stands as the topic sentence of a paragraph, the result may be, as in Macaulay, an impressive flow of eloquent exposition. Without a mustering of data under generalizations language would lack focus. Hence the literary temptation to extend one's scope, to fill a large canvas, to set up a thesis, and make sweeping pronouncements. In this the historian faces a dilemma. Of course he is more than a chronicler, yet restraint in generalization must be exercised. Readers will look to him as commentator, or even as judge. Yet he must watch his obiter dicta. He should not attach the fine word *history* to a doubtful product. A verdict will be expected and will be justified where investigation supports it, and beyond the verdict, which is a finding of fact, he may be permitted an opinion. But there is a risk. Historians of all men should be most aware of the obiter dictum in the Dred Scott case. In a short time the decision became so outmoded that no formal reversal was necessary. It was a dead letter and even that fact was hardly mentioned; yet its utterance had become a famous episode which shook the country and tarnished for a time the reputation of the Supreme Court.

If generalization becomes a habit, or a trademark of an author, or a treatment characteristic of a school of thought, the pattern may be alluring, but the lure may be deceptive. There is a certain impressiveness in summoning what is called "human nature" as an aid to history, but human nature is a fairly large order. One should be wary of the superficial biological or evolutionary analogy by which war is alleged to be elementally justified on the principle of the "survival of the fittest." In the long run it may indeed be the fittest that survive, but this does not mean that the survivors are the fiercest. The predatory qualities of the wolf and the pirate have tended not toward survival but toward extinction. Historians, like archaeologists, are forever unearthing the bones of extinct mammoths. If one makes glib pronouncements as to the nature of our human genus he should be advised to read Alexis Carrel, *Man, the Unknown*. Let him also turn to the *American Historical Review* for April, 1952. In that issue Boyd C. Shafer shows that certain views are due for re-examination as they imply, for instance, that differences in intelligence signify the superiority or inferiority of this or that national group. Differences and similarities, he shows, do not appear according to race or nationality; they are broadly human and run through the whole species of *homo sapiens*. And on balance, the similarities are far more significant than the differences.

The historian must carefully note those studies that are concerned with psychoanalysis. This, indeed, is another of those vogues, though a fairly modern one. Some writers tend to cast all thought, notably the biographical, into the mold of the subconscious, of this or that fixation, of extrovert or introvert, of narcissism, of the Oedipus complex—in a word of Freudian psychoanalysis. But Freudian psychoanalysis is one thing, and the transference of Freudian psychoanalysis to biography without adequate biographical or historical basis is a very different thing. The psychological factor is important, but if one is writing biography, then the buoyancy of psychoanalysis requires historical ballast. Where that ballast is lacking, the results are at times remarkable. The soul of Lincoln, for instance, has been analyzed and psychoanalyzed, with or without benefit of Freud, to a point that, to say the least, would have been surprising to Lincoln himself. It might not have occurred to him that his soul-life was conditioned by a madonna complex or a life-memory of "the Eden from which the infant Lincoln had been so ruthlessly expelled when he was weaned." He revered his mother, but it is going far to picture her enfolded by the "circumambient morn"—a "mirage," "a phantom from the fields of Elysium." And only a writer affected both by modern psychoanalysis and Herndon's misrepresentations could have swung his pen with so much of the psychic and so little of the historical on the alleged "mad frenzy" of Lincoln for Ann Rutledge.¹

Among broad formulas one often hears of "economic determinism." It is suggested that something inexorable is at work so that peoples are ruled or tortured by economic forces that control destiny. For the criticism of such a formula there is need for a double re-examination—a study always of the particular economics involved and of the specific history in question. Of course the valid relation of economics to history should be studied, but that is the very point. Validity is our plea. The questionable method is to set up a super-historical formula as a preconceived principle and to apply it for reshaping a whole episode of history. It sounds impressive to note that the South was agricultural and the North more largely industrial, which was obvious, and to go on from there not only to assert that the Civil War happened because of that, but also to convey the idea that it "had to" happen by reason of that alleged economic inevitability. One finds, of course, in the first place, that large parts of the South did not want separation *per se*, and that the upper South did not join in secession because of agricultural-industrial antagonism, nor in general because of intolerable grievances within the Union. The Virginia convention, for instance, avoided a vote for secession until war

¹ L. Pierce Clark, *Lincoln: A Psycho-biography* (New York, 1933), especially pp. 7-8, 50.

broke out. The Peace Convention of February, 1861, whose purpose was to preserve the Union and avert war, was a Virginia movement. In the second place, in the very name of economics one may recognize a diversified economy and one may question the idea that wheat fields, cotton fields, and factories could not have continued to exist within the same nation. The large stumbling block here is the artificial theory of materialistic inevitability.

III

Historians can perform no service more useful to society than to expose the faulty or vicious generalizations about history that continue to mislead mankind. Associated with the concept of economic determinism, for example, is the notion that modern wars have relieved population pressures, which is not true, or that such wars have happened because of the lack of raw materials. Where modern wars, plotted and launched by militaristic rulers, have been attributed to the lack of raw materials, the fact that stands out with the clearness of reality is that the inauguration of such wars could not have occurred unless large stocks of raw materials had already been within the possession of the war-making elements. It is a huge fallacy to overlook international trade and leap to the conclusion that a nation cannot have rubber, oil, and iron unless it makes war to seize, own, and govern the far-flung areas whence those materials come. This reliance on trade and normal relations, of course, stands within the pattern, not of aggression and compulsion, but of free nations, and in our time of the United Nations.

To mention a related fallacy, historical evidence does not justify acquisition of colonies as a motive for modern wars, nor does it justify the need for living room as ground for invading, despoiling, and overrunning a neighbor country. Learned words have been used to promote the notion of *Lebensraum* as a factor of war causation. If one has been impressed by arguments in support of that thesis, a second thought is in order. The argument seems to imply that nationals of a specified type cannot live with other nationals. Its practical effect is to deny living room to a rudely dispossessed people in their home country, and it proceeds to rationalize such dispossession on the sordid ideological ground that the intruders with the bigger guns have basic superiority as a master race. Certainly as applied by modern regimes the war-making concept of *Lebensraum* stands discredited both practically and ideologically by its very perpetrators. Though there is a lure attaching to these sweeping interpretations, it should be the function of the mature philosopher and especially of the historian to deal critically and circumspectly with particular historical applications of broad formulas that

have slipped their moorings and have lost contact with the facts of history.

There is a voluminous literature on the subject of wars, but there is need for more attention to wars that have not happened. A book might be written on that subject. If a popular title were sought, the book could be called "‘Fifty-Four Forty’ and All That." In such a book some of the war slogans of the past could be exposed in all their naked irrelevance in the case of wars that were fortunately avoided. One could make a considerable list of such "wars" for which the clamorous shibboleths, arguments, and pressures were matters of history; they could all be documented from sources. Suppose such a war had happened—for instance, a misguided war between the United States and Britain in the 1890's concerning Venezuela. One can imagine the learned disquisitions that might have poured forth to "prove" that that Anglo-American war was "inevitable." This urging that increased study be devoted to wars that have not happened is intended in all seriousness. Prevention of war as a topic of research may claim the talents of competent historians. The field may be productive of significant investigation and writing.

There is more to be done by historians in studying, though not merely by diplomatic documents, the causes of wars. By a kind of misplaced profundity the subject has been magnified or overdignified. Much has been said by way of representing such causes as broadly based, elemental, associated with "virile" nations, cosmic, and hence seemingly justified. To discourse learnedly about peoples in need of this or that advantage and assert that rulers begin a war for that reason, is misleading. There may be no such need to be actually attained by war, and the rulers may be inaccessible to control by their own people. If a nation fights for its own liberty or for a great principle, if it is attacked and defends itself, or fulfills pledges to promote international justice in case of unprovoked aggression, one may speak with reason of aims and objectives in a conflict, but in doing so one is referring to a conflict that has already begun; for the "cause" or unleashing of the war one must study an earlier chapter. War is too often discussed in the abstract, and that is especially true of over-all treatments of causes of war in general. If one deals with war realistically, which is not always done in historical writing or military narrative, he must in the modern age take account, not so much of the elemental and basic, but of the irresponsible and the capricious. Where war comes by reason of militaristic megalomania or a perverted sense of bigness, one must adjust his conclusions as to "causes." In that case one cannot write grandly, broadly, and elementally, of great surging movements that need only to be "understood." It may be that too little attention has been

given to war-making factors that are abusive, abnormal, pathological, whipped-up, stupid as to ideas, artificially staged as to pretext, and criminally aggressive. There is of course the high motive of "removing the causes of war" as part of international programs to avoid conflict, but it is consistent with this motive to examine such causes critically and specifically. In so doing the realistic historian must expose factors which are without reason.

These matters are concerned with the inception of wars. The cause of peace loses its vantage point when war has broken out. A man may believe ardently in the avoidance of war and yet he may not join in criticism or misrepresentation of a nation or a government that rises to a challenge when drawn into war by outside aggression and attack. For this reason there is all the more validity in those efforts of peace-promoting nations that are concerned, not with sitting by and hoping, against history, that they can merely let war happen and avoid involvement, but rather with standing together, while there is yet time, to prevent war from breaking out, which is what any true peace effort really signifies.

No one has yet fully measured the impact of unhistorical notions in the international field. In that great area the slanting of history may go so far as to become startlingly dangerous. We have heard arguments for the alleged "inevitability" of war, together with its "log jam" corollary or its accompanying fallacy as to "preventive war." If one studies America's intelligent leaders, Lincoln among them, he will find that they have advocated not "preventive war," which is self-contradictory, but the prevention of war. War was not prevented in Lincoln's day, in a period that has been called a "blundering generation," but it has not yet been proved that the tensions of that time exceeded the possible resilience of the American people or the potential elasticity of the Union. Tensions can be shown, but to note a dispute is not equivalent to explaining or justifying a war. There is as much to be said of North *and* South as of North *versus* South. In the long story, with the exception of the 1860's, the Union has proved elastic rather than brittle. War was prevented in 1850. Had war been prevented in 1861, as Lincoln hoped, the notion of "inevitability" would have led one to suppose that tensions would then have steadily mounted till peace became "impossible," whereas the likely supposition was that, if another decade had been safely passed, the nation by 1870 would already have reached the point of diminishing tension with a still further diminishing of danger in decades to follow. Yet if you accept the dogma of "inevitability" you can never achieve the prevention of war.

IV

Among the familiar stereotypes is the pronouncement that men of liberal views have talked and have dreamed but have not achieved. On this point it belongs to scholarly historianship to look at the record. Wilson was a liberal and a man of ideals. As governor of New Jersey he carried reform measures through to enactment against the opposition of "practical" bosses. The solid achievements of his first presidential administration—in the tariff, taxation, finance, banking, canal tolls, the Clayton act, the Federal Trade Commission, and so on—bespoke not the dreamer but the man who accomplished. The complex and multifarious wartime enactments of his second administration cannot be historically considered apart from effective presidential leadership. These things were done within the pattern of democracy, of free elections, of vociferous and continued expression of opposite opinion. From 1913 to 1919, with notable resourcefulness in the co-operation of President and Congress, Wilson's record was that of a leader and a successful President.

The one great exception to that record was the defeat by a minority of the Senate of Wilson's program for adherence to the League of Nations. If one studies Wilson he should also study his opponents, whose performance may be characterized not as a clear-cut triumph of majority will but rather as indirection, delay, and a calculated technique of talking the subject to death. The result may be considered a kind of fluke. It is needless to comment on the effect of that anti-Wilson episode upon the United States and the world. The defeat of the League came after Wilson's breakdown. It does not invalidate the main record of his accomplishment as a leader, nor does it justify the broad appellation of visionary or impractical dreamer.

Wilson has been mentioned as an example. Other instances can be readily found. In Jacob Riis one finds a man of vision and ideals but also a practical leader and a man of accomplishment. The same is true of Peter Cooper, Louis Brandeis, George Norris, John Peter Altgeld, Jane Addams, and many others. If they had vision, that meant that they saw large problems by which we mean realities that others were ignoring. If they had ideals, they were in that respect at one with our great spokesmen and leaders. Their vision was no handicap and the significant matter that stands out in their story is that they did not merely talk; they achieved. On the other hand, though it is too painful for elaboration, the term "realist" has been misapplied to less liberal men who have been notable chiefly for naïveté, for wrong guesses, and for overlooking realities. This is a large subject that needs re-examination.

V

It is a function of the historical sense to recognize the outmoding of old ideas and patterns. In part this is a casting out of bogeys. In part it is the rhythm of the decades. Once the abolitionists were despised and suppressed, North and South, to a degree and by methods that are, as seen today, nothing short of shocking. Now the abolitionists are receiving, as they should receive, a better understanding and a more friendly treatment. Once, though this may not be entirely a thing of the past, the abusive and exploitive side of capitalism was overlooked or perhaps admired; some people even admired Jim Fisk. In recent decades an aroused social sense has found it imperative, through government, to hold these abuses in check, not to destroy capitalism but to live with it and yet preserve economic and social democracy.

In some cases the intellectual process of outmoding has been like the lifting of a darkening curtain. There was that pre-Civil War book of propaganda, *The Proslavery Argument*. That polemic publication had its day. There was something in the intellectual air that caused people to accept those emphatic pleas for human slavery on the historical, religious, Biblical, philosophical, political, and constitutional fronts. All this ammunition was designed, manufactured, and discharged in defense of an institution which very soon became unconstitutional with the willing help of Southern votes and which has long been discredited. What a stockpile of ideas had to be discarded, and how small was the popular regret and how great the humanitarian satisfaction when that discarding came!

In 1864, when it was coming to be recognized that slavery was gone and when American law was being adjusted to that recognition by the thirteenth amendment, Congressman Fernando Wood of New York said: "Mr. Speaker, I see many objections to this amendment, while I fail to find one reason in its favor. I am opposed to it because it aims at the introduction of a new element over which Government shall operate. It proposes to make the social interests subjects for governmental regulation."² This problem has ramifications that cannot be entered into here, but Wood's words are quoted to show how new to some minds at that time was the idea, which has become so important in recent times, of using government for the promotion of "social interests" and human welfare. It was, however, an idea with which Lincoln was familiar and which he approved. It is an idea which, operating on many a significant front, has led to the casting off of old attitudes pertaining to the eight-hour day, child labor, social security, labor rights, agricultural support, and food-and-drug inspection, for which Harvey Wiley had to conduct

² *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., 2940 (June 14, 1864).

a lively campaign of crusading and later of vigorous administration.

Outmoding is a kind of transition and it is always occurring. How it works may be subject to no one generalization. Sometimes it seems to come by the passing of time or by the coming of fresh air. In American democracy the process may be peaceable constitution making or amending, adaptation by court opinion, crusaders laboring for specific causes, countless informal expressions of opinion, change due to an election of President and Congress, nonpartisan agreement, perhaps a kind of liberal coalition as in the curbing of the undemocratic power of Speaker Cannon, or programs successfully promoted by a minor party though it loses an election.

Introduction of new customs may occur within the pattern of the old. Violence may result if matters become desperate while systems are rigid or regimes are negative, but it is the merit of democracy that doors are not closed and that changing forms come as a matter of natural growth. An imperfect system may carry the germ of its own evolution. Constitutional limitations are not impervious to the surging demands of a people. It was the unreformed Parliament of 1832 in Britain which passed the Reform Bill and opened the way for succeeding social measures. And the parliamentary reform of 1911 with its radical diminution of the power of the House of Lords was brought to pass within the old pattern. The process was regular, though it did involve, in 1911 as in 1832, the drastic threat of the creation of new peers. The point to emphasize is that that threat could be effective, allowing the existing system to be used and inducing the peers' consent to the reduction of their own power.

Woman suffrage in the United States was obtained, not by revolution or a kind of amazons' Bastille Day, but by orderly processes under mere male control. In ratifying the seventeenth amendment our state legislatures transferred the election of senators from their own hands to those of the people. In 1952 the United States Senate gave up its patronage as to collectors of internal revenue. If it be argued that the men had to yield, also the peers, legislators, and senators, that simply signifies that in the accomplishment of these reforms there were prior forces at work by which the old system could sweep itself away. That method, and not civil or class war, is the process by which at its best and within the pattern of intelligent statesmanship, the abolition of the old has come to pass.

VI

As we meet in these gatherings we cannot fail to be aware of the larger uses and responsibilities of the historian. As teacher his function is not in-

doctrination but stimulation of students who will be citizens in need of history whether or not they are to be historians. It may therefore be emphasized that what is appropriate for historianship is also essential for citizenship. Standards of historical study are of value for the understanding of human affairs. Among such standards are clarity, objectivity, tolerance, discrimination, a sense of proportion, insistence upon freedom of thought, authenticity, caution as to conclusions, wariness as to excessive generalizations combined with readiness to state conclusions fairly reached. What is not recommended is the attitude of the politician who said: "These are the conclusions on which I base my facts."

The historian has often to consider the problem of semantics, or what Lincoln called the "tyranny of words" in the actual affairs of men. There are words of high import that have become unworthily applied. The basic compulsion of the word *honor* is justified when validly used, but not to cover a kind of face saving for those who demand a holocaust of violence when what is needed is adjustment. Shakespeare's word for this was finding "quarrel in a straw" when "honour's at the stake." In many minds the original meaning of the word *politics* has been lost. The significant word *liberal*, a term of good standing in history, has been distorted or even in some cases taken over for non-liberal purposes. It is important also that the word *conservative* be rightly understood.

A word should not be thought of as frozen or petrified, but as something alive and vital. On this point we might quote Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in *Towne versus Eisner*, 245 U.S., 425: "A word is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged; it is the skin of a living thought and may vary greatly in color and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used." Words should be functional, chosen for thought conveyance as well as for cadence, association, flavor, and all the other purposes that belong to verbal expression. Yet often the historian recognizes the trigger-like discharge of words and the confusion of slogans as among the explosive factors in public affairs.

As for the fine word *American*, it is needless to point out how it has been appropriated by a pressure group or "front." The word *loyalty* runs deep but its genuine test is not reducible to easy categorizing or stigmatizing. Horace Bushnell, Congregational minister, wrote in Civil War days: "Loyalty . . . is no subject of . . . legal definition. It belongs entirely to the moral department of life. It is what a man thinks and feels, and contrives, not as being commanded, but of his own accord, for . . . his country's honor—his great sentiment, his deep and high devotion, the fire of his habitual or

inborn homage. . . ."³ Loyalty in a democracy should be construed as allowing for difference of opinion. Detection of disloyalty is an obligation of responsible administrators, and punishment is a function of prosecutors and courts with due safeguards. The motive and manner of the prosecution should not be partisan, nor should it be the function of an individual or a clique.

About two centuries ago the Western world saw the age of enlightenment, and it is hard to face up now to an age of error. We hear that philosophy has lost its grip and that men no longer even expect to have firm beliefs. This leaves a gaping void which, in one of its manifestations, has appeared in the works of the French writer Albert Camus, whose lack of believing appears in various books, though it has been somewhat belied by his association with the French underground. Here we have the theme that man is ruled by terror, that he has either to cheat or be cheated, that nothing matters, that man is a stranger in an alien and absurd world, that we are forever climbing and continually falling, and that the best we can expect is to take satisfaction in the act of climbing however meaningless it may be. Whatever else may be said of this philosophy of emptiness, it can hardly be recommended on the score of results. If one takes American history, the leaders who are best remembered are men and women who have believed and affirmed—Jefferson, who believed in human rights; Lincoln, who believed in democracy; Jane Addams, whose life was a saga of unselfish service; Wilson, to whom solidarity for prevention of war and continuing international order was a cause of compelling importance.

The habitual negative tendency may become almost pathological. It is, however, a disease of which the fever will sooner or later pass. In the 1920's we needed the sophisticated barbs of Mencken. But we also needed such a writer as Stuart Pratt Sherman. This is a two-party nation. In 1923 Edward P. Cheyney addressed this Association on the subject "Law in History." As was his nature, Cheyney spoke with confidence of democracy and progress, though his words came at a time of gathering darkness. It is well to recall that the era of negativism had been preceded by what Van Wyck Brooks has called the "confident years"—the late phase of the nineteenth century together with the twentieth to about 1914. They are known in political history as the "progressive movement." That literature still exists; as for the simultaneous progressive movement, some of its results still remain. Much of that writing based on confidence was a matter of dissent. Conformity of opinion was not its characteristic. This was the productive age of the muck-

³ Horace Bushnell, in *The New Englander*, XXII (July, 1863), 565.

raker. But it was not the kind of dissent that is lacking in horizon or vista. It belonged to a distinguished line of American writing in that it was dissent with a purpose. More especially, the fact that there was such an era of purpose and vision suggests that in the turning of the decades a similar period may again arise.

Whether the time be one of pessimism or optimism, society has need of the historian. He is—or we hope he is—oriented in time and space. He is not limited—this ideal historian—to his own province or to a narrow present. He has reasonableness, loyalty, conviction, appreciation of human values. He has a training that sharpens his perceptions. From tested evidence he strives to recreate a past episode. In addition to all the craftsmanship that pertains to evidence, he recognizes the many-sidedness of historical interpretation. He has understanding that guards against unenlightened or partisan argument. In this singling out of the historian there is no thought of exclusiveness. Certainly we recognize the distinctive contributions of those who labor in other social studies, indeed in the world of scholars and scientists. It is simply that the historian is the subject for tonight. For the historian himself we have in mind his sense of function, his purpose, his aim and goal. The full ideal may not be fulfilled, but such is the nature of ideals. One does not reach them, but one does steer by them.

Since we live in an age of error we stand in need of these qualities. We need the historian's keenness in the daily contemplation of events and movements. We need the informed intelligence that will not be moved by a cartoon because it is skillfully drawn, because it has a picture of Uncle Sam, or because it is printed large on the front page. We need the questioning mind. To safeguard it we need democracy, for the obvious reason that in antidemocratic regimes scholarly effort and civic thought are tortured into indoctrination and killed. This is not to suggest that the historical scholar should go about with the air of an agitator. Among our intellectuals an excess of earnestness is a remote hazard; it is not likely to arise. But the scholar belongs to the human race, and where great values are in question neither he nor the scientist can be indifferent. He may deal in quiet statement of findings rather than in vociferous emphasis, but it belongs within his function as a scholar to contribute, as he well can, to the forming and conveying of sound conclusions and the encouragement of independent thought.

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A Struggle for Liberty in the Renaissance: Florence, Venice, and Milan in the Early Quattrocento

HANS BARON

Part One

I

STUDENTS of history are too seldom aware that our accepted notions of the politics of the Italian Renaissance are valid only within limits. A coolly calculating art of diplomacy, astuteness in intrigue, remoteness from political ideals and patriotic emotions, and a feeling of safety from great catastrophes in the protection of a relatively perfected balance of power: these traits hold true only for the second half of the fifteenth century and a few decades beyond 1500; and even during this phase they must not be underscored to the exclusion of all others. We must remember the growth of popular passions that shaped Florentine life in the time of Savonarola and dominated Florence's last fight for independence in the years 1527-30.

For the period which saw the transition from the Trecento to the Renaissance, and the youth of humanism in the early Quattrocento, we are quite certainly nearer to the truth if we entirely reverse the emphasis. That period was an era of great political catastrophes when diplomatic maneuvers and intrigues proved ultimately powerless, and the vital decisions rested with the political conviction and patriotic will power of the citizen. It was an age which was the harbinger of modern conditions not only in its refinement of diplomacy but even more because it witnessed the emergence of a pattern of interstate relations unknown to the medieval world: a dynamic antagonism between republican liberty and the efficiency of despotic rule, between the independence of the members of an integrated family of states and the drive of the most effectively organized partner among them for universal dominion.¹

It is a well-known fact, of course, that the states system of the Italian Renaissance—composed chiefly of the Kingdom of Naples, the Papal State,

¹ The writer has arrived at this re-evaluation gradually over the past ten years, the first outline of his views having been presented in an essay "Articulation and Unity in the Italian Renaissance and in the Modern West," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1942* (Washington, D. C., 1944), III, 123-38. After submitting the first draft of the present paper to the *American Historical Review* in January, 1951, the writer had the satisfaction of seeing from the work of Nino Valeri, *L'Italia nell' età dei Principati dal 1343 al 1516*, pub-

the Duchy of Milan, and the two republics of Venice and Florence—did not become finally established until the middle of the fifteenth century. But awareness of the changes in the political organization of Italy in the mid-Quattrocento does not usually include a realization that political conduct and the climate of opinion were essentially different in the early and in the later Renaissance. In the first half of the Quattrocento, it is usually thought, the five states of the new equilibrium system were gradually built up by means of the new diplomatic art. The actual genesis of these states was very different.

The Kingdom of Naples and the Papal State were not creations of the Quattrocento but were of medieval origin. The Italian south, built on Byzantine, Arab, and Norman foundations, had formed a centralized monarchy since the time of the Hohenstaufen. While it was different from the feudal world north of the Alps, it was also essentially different from the central and northern Italian area which had its dominating social unit in the commune, the free city-state. Even during the Middle Ages Naples was a large integrated state, unique in the medieval world in that it represented a mixture of feudalism with elements of an advanced oriental administration. The Papal State, built partly on the international position of the medieval church and partly on the baronial latifundia in the Campagna di Roma, was also older than the Renaissance and different in structure from the area of the north and central Italian communes, although it had a share in this area by way of a loose supremacy over the provinces of Umbria (with Perugia as the foremost city-state), the March of Ancona, and Romagna-Emilia (with Bologna as leading city). This is not to say that Naples and the Papal State did not become full members of the Renaissance system during the Quattro-

lished in 1950 in the series "Storia d'Italia" (Arnaldo Mondadori Editore), that a kindred approach to early Renaissance politics had been developing in Italy during the war and postwar period when contact between American and Italian scholarship was nonexistent or slight. Valeri's appraisal of the facts, it is true, is not always identical with that suggested in the following pages, and the source material he consulted is often different from ours. Nevertheless the basic direction of his narrative of the period from 1390 to 1450 has so much in common with the synthesis here attempted that this concurrence fortifies both accounts and proves that in the study of early Renaissance politics we are today approaching a new perspective which implies more than a willful shift of emphasis by individual scholars. A critical report on Valeri's work and other recent trends in Italian Renaissance historiography may be found in the writer's review article "Die politische Entwicklung der italienischen Renaissance," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXIV (1952), 31-56. In several places, the following synthesis of the political development depends on a reappraisal of the humanistic literature, especially the political pamphlets and historiographical works of Florentine humanists, around 1400. Wherever the results of this reappraisal include changes in the accepted evaluation or chronology of the consulted humanistic sources, the reader is referred to the writer's forthcoming book *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*. Preparation of the research project on which the present paper is based has been made possible by fellowships and grants from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Newberry Library.

cento. But the emergence of a system of a few large states covering the peninsula depended on the addition of three integrated powers in the north.

The urban parts of upper Italy had always been different from medieval Europe north of the Alps in that they did not have a fully developed feudal society and hierarchy of feudal lords. But they had not escaped local dismemberment such as medieval Europe generally had undergone. The multitudes of communes, each ruling over the neighboring countryside, were connected merely by their attachment to the camp either of the Ghibellines or of the Guelphs. The driving power toward the formation of larger states in this urban area from the time of the Hohenstaufen onward was tyranny. Under the autocratic rule of the *signore*, which changed citizens into subjects, cities could be united in a provincial state and organized by an efficient bureaucratic administration. This process had its origin in the region in which the advantages of unification were greatest for geographical and economic reasons: in the flat valley of the Po, and especially in its central province, Lombardy. Once the race between the emergent *signori* had led one of them to supremacy in a substantial area, there was no limit to his territorial expansion until the natural boundaries of northern Italy were reached; and if the concentration of power was vast enough, the tide would roll on to the south, to the papal urbanized provinces of Romagna-Emilia and Umbria, or to Tuscany. This happened as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, when the Scaligeri of Verona founded a large empire in the eastern parts of the north Italian plain and were able to secure a foothold in Lucca in Tuscany. And it would happen again on an even grander scale in the mid-Trecento, when the Visconti of Milan had established themselves as the preponderant power among the northern tyrants.²

The problem in the second half of the Trecento and in the first half of the Quattrocento then was whether any of the increasingly imperiled minor powers, or any coalition of them, might be able to stem what seemed the natural course of this already well-established trend. If a successful counteraction did not occur, large parts of Italy, around 1400, were destined to develop into one despotic monarchy incorporating the entire urbanized area. In that case, a north Italian monarchy foreshadowing the absolutism of western Europe in the early modern epoch would have taken its place alongside the Papal State (deprived of its northern urban dependencies) and the south Italian kingdom; or, conceivably, the concentrated power of northern Italy would have been great enough to expand down to the southern tip of

² See the chapter "Florence Encounters the Problem of the Despot (1313-43)" in Ferdinand Schevill's *History of Florence* (New York, 1936).

the peninsula. In neither event could the political development of the Italian Quattrocento have followed the course which made the period in some respects akin to the city-state era of ancient Greece, in other respects a prototype of the equilibrium between independent states in the modern world.

When now we ask which of the larger north and central Italian states had the stamina to resist and eventually break the momentum of the Milanese expansion, the answer is, none of the many competing tyrannies, but two of the surviving city-state republics: Florence and Venice. That Venice was strong enough to resist may seem understandable in view of her possession of a large east Mediterranean empire across the seas. But the oriental strength of Venice did not necessarily make her a foremost Italian power. Venice's mainland state, which in the later Quattrocento represented the largest and most powerful accumulation of territories in northern Italy, was at the turn of the Trecento limited to the neighborhood of the protective lagoon; one more generation was to pass before Venice entered the Italian struggle with any determination. When this happened, Venice's intervention did not come in the manner of a coolly devised and executed diplomatic action but as a stormy reorientation of Venetian policies which stirred up a searching of hearts and passionate political sentiments. Moreover, even though Venice did not enter into a lonely fight but combined her resources with those of Florence, already engaged against Milan, the power potential of the allied republics was no more than a match for the might of the Visconti empire. Prior to that union, through nearly two-score years, Florence alone had borne the brunt of a wholly unequal struggle. The source from which this strength of the Florentine Republic had sprung was her tradition of freedom and the political will power with which her citizens rose to the challenge. Only these forces of the spirit, added to economic energies that were no longer exceptional, let the Republic survive through the dark hours of a historic crisis. At the same time, the public spirit and the patriotic passion nursed in the fight helped to shape the character of the Florentine humanistic Renaissance through more than half a century.

The history of these Florentine wars for independence and liberty; the change which came about in the general political atmosphere of Italy when Venice joined her sister republic; the founding of large regional states under the two republics until they became the last two partners of the states system of the Renaissance: these historic developments form the political frame in which we must place the culture of the early Renaissance. This is a chapter of Renaissance history (and of the general history of the fight for liberty) which is too often forgotten; yet it is one of the aspects of Renaissance Italy

which we should remember at least as vividly as we remember the later political decadence to which the interest of students has clung with almost vicious delight.

II

The turn of the Trecento and the first years of the fifteenth century set a historic date line in the history of culture and art because at that moment, especially in the Florentine school, there was a waning, almost over night, of much of the medieval outlook and sentiment. In the Trecento this sentiment had persevered side by side with every new advance, throwing the century from Dante to the generation of about 1400 into a twilight between medievalism and the Renaissance. We find the same gradation in the development of political experience and thought. There, too, the rise of new elements did not produce a substantial break with the medieval legacy until the last quarter of the Trecento; and it was the turn of the century which saw the revolutionary remaking of the political scene, with Florence in the position of a protagonist, just as she was in the cultural field. There is a fundamental connection between Florence's rise to prominence both in Italian politics and in humanistic culture.

The leaven in the transformation of the political outlook was the awareness of the full historical meaning of the clash between civic freedom and tyranny. From the early Trecento onward Florence had fought against threats from the tyrant regions of northern Italy; but to the 1360's at least, this antagonism had remained cloaked in the inherited ideologies of medieval Italy. Alignments and divisions of the local powers on the peninsula had always been looked upon as a part of the contention between the emperor and the pope, between Ghibellines and Guelphs. Like the Scaligeri, the Visconti had risen as appointed vicars of the emperors; they were the leaders of the Ghibelline party on the peninsula. In the opposing camp it was the papacy, then in Avignon, which designed and organized the resistance against the potential danger of an expansionist monarchy with its center in Milan. In the 1350's and 1360's, the situation still seemed to be basically what it had been in the thirteenth century when the popes had thwarted the efforts of the Hohenstaufen to erect an Italian monarchy on the basis of the south Italian kingdom. Since leadership clearly lay in Avignon, the war against the rising power of the Visconti was waged with the medieval slogans aimed at rebels against the authority of the church, and with the old weapon of ecclesiastical excommunication.³

³ Carlo Capasso, "La signoria viscontea e la lotta politico-religiosa con il Papato nella prima metà del sec. xiv," *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, VIII (1908), 265-317, 408-36; Giacinto Romano, "La guerra tra i Visconti e la Chiesa, 1360-1376," *ibid.*, III (1903), 411-32.

Florence, in that climate, felt herself to be but one—even though the most powerful—of the many Guelph city-states that were following and defending the cause of the church. Modern students have noticed with astonishment how greatly the Florentine diplomats and chroniclers of the 1350's distorted the causes of the Florentine participation in the fight against Giovanni Visconti.⁴ Even while the Florentine Republic, fully aware that Milanese occupation of Bologna would deprive Florence of an indispensable ally, was trembling at the thought of Viscontean expansion across the Apennines, her justification for supporting Bologna remained her obligation toward the church, which was Bologna's suzerain and was to be defended by every member of the Guelph-papal party.⁵

But while medieval Guelphism still formed the framework of political sentiment and thought, a process had begun on the provincial basis of the Tuscan city-states which was transforming the Florentine conception of Guelph *libertas*. Twice in the past the Florentine Republic had attempted to subjugate the major Tuscan city-states and build a Florentine dominion in Tuscany, as Milan had built a provincial dominion in the upper valley of the Po. The first of these attempts had been made from 1250 to 1260 when Guelph Florence after the fall of the Hohenstaufen found herself the strongest power in Tuscany; the second followed in the 1330's when Pisa and Lucca threatened to become springboards for native tyranny and for expansion of the north Italian empire of the Scaligeri of Verona. But both times the outcome had been ruin to Florence. The imperialistic policy of the 1250's had ended with the long-remembered military catastrophe of Montaperti on the Arbia; the strain of the continual wars of the 1330's had in 1342-43 caused the dictatorship—also not forgotten—of a Florentine tyrant elected for life: the duke of Athens. After only one year of the tyrant's rule, the quarreling groups of citizens co-operated to break the spell, and the previously subjected Tuscan cities, which had transferred their allegiance from the Florentine commune to the new lord, returned to independence. The proud structure of Florentine dominion over large parts of Tuscany had disappeared.

By this experience Florence's relationship to Tuscany was changed for a long time to come.⁶ The Florentine territory after 1343 was rebuilt on a

⁴ See Francesco Baldasseroni, "La guerra tra Firenze e Giovanni Visconti," *Studi storici*, XII (1903), esp. 85-89.

⁵ According to Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, X 57.

⁶ A change which, although basic for the political position of Florence on the eve of the Renaissance, is little known. The evidence adduced by Gioacchino Volpe (*Il medio evo* [Florence, 1930], pp. 362 f., 368) and Corrado Barbagallo (*Storia universale*, III, part 2 [Turin, 1935], pp. 1033-36), who are aware of the altered climate in Florence's Tuscan policy after 1343, may not be sufficient to dispel the skepticism of earlier scholars still echoed in the

narrower basis than it had had for several generations; of the more important cities, only Pistoia in the immediate neighborhood and, somewhat later, Volterra and Arezzo were again incorporated. Instead, the foremost cities in Tuscany and in the adjacent provinces were joined to Florence by defense leagues frequently renewed. In the foundation charter of one of the first of these regional confederations—that with south Tuscan Siena and Umbrian Perugia, concluded in 1347—we read that the objective was the common defense against “any prince who should encroach upon Italy from across the Alps, and against any non-Tuscan tyrant.”⁷ Since then, leadership in an anti-imperial and anti-tyrannical confederation with free neighbor city-states became an accepted part of Florence’s foreign policy. By the year 1370 even Florence’s age-long opponents in the west, Pisa and Lucca, were reconciled and attracted to this alliance system. During the 1370’s and 1380’s the city-leagues of Florence usually included Pisa, Lucca, and Siena in Tuscany, Perugia in Umbria, and, north of the Apennines, Bologna in Emilia which was the key to the major passes to Tuscany. As metropolis of a free city-state region, Florence staved off the threat of the Visconti for another generation. In 1374, Coluccio Salutati, Florentine chancellor and humanist, told Lucca, the Tuscan city-state first hit by the Milanese southward drive, that the Florentine people, who had come to detest tyranny at home, were ready to defend with deeds the liberty of the other cities. For in doing so, Salutati said, Florence was following her enlightened self-interest. “The liberty of this city appears to be all the more secure, the broader the belt of free peoples surrounding her. Therefore, everyone ought to be convinced readily that the Florentine people are the defenders of the liberty of all peoples [in Tuscany], since in defending them they also make the defense of their own freedom less difficult.”⁸

History by Schevill (pp. 262 f.), already quoted. But a systematic re-examination of the problem of hegemony and communal confederation in medieval Tuscany made by this writer for a paper soon to be published leaves no doubt that Florence’s policy in central Italy from 1343 to the early 1380’s is correctly defined in the characterization which follows in the text. After this article had gone to press, Nicola Rubinstein, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., II (1952), published an important account, largely from new archival material, of the ideas of city-state liberty in Florentine politics and propaganda between 1328 and 1390 (“Florence and the Despots: Some Aspects of Florentine Diplomacy in the Fourteenth Century”). Although he makes certain reservations—some of which would seem unnecessary when Florence’s late Trecento policy is compared with her imperialism in the 1250’s and 1330’s—Rubinstein, too, concludes (pp. 41, 45) that in the period after 1343 the city leagues in defense of *libertas Tusciae* became an essential object of Florentine diplomacy; “the available evidence does not seem to suggest that the Tuscan policy of the Florentines was constantly dominated by the desire for aggrandisement and hegemony.”

⁷ Against any “*signore sceso d’oltremonte, o da qualche tiranno non toscano*.” See Francesco Briganti, *Città dominanti e comuni minori nel medio evo* (Perugia, 1906), pp. 197 ff., where the subsequent leagues of Florence with the Tuscan cities to 1392 are also listed.

⁸ “*Hic est enim ille populus, qui et intestinam tyrannidem detestatur et exterarum urbium*

During the same decades, the medieval conception of Guelphism as the party of the universal church began to lose its persuasion. When the long and fervent desire of the Italians of the fourteenth century for the return of the papal see from Avignon to Rome approached fulfillment, it became clear that this change involved the re-emergence of the papacy as one of the nascent region-states of the peninsula. Already the first attempt of the popes to return to Italy at the end of the 1360's produced a threatening scheme, unexpectedly seconded by the emperor Charles IV, to limit the autonomy of the central Italian cities by incorporating them in an enlarged Papal State, and it was only Florentine intercession for the independence of all Tuscan city-states that eventually assured the freedom of the republics of Pisa and Lucca.⁹ The climax of the clash with the papacy came in the 1370's when central Italy was shaken by the violent upheaval known as the "War of the Eight Saints." Papal legates, sent ahead before the pope moved to Rome in 1377, crushed local autonomies and began to build up a better integrated state in the almost lawless region around Rome and in the former papal possessions in Umbria and Romagna-Emilia, and even in parts of Tuscany. In these efforts, they showed the same systematic ruthlessness the tyrants had practiced in consolidating their states. In the mid-1370's, Florence found herself at the head of a central Italian league defending the independence of Tuscany against the danger of expansionist unification which was now threatening from the Papal State. For a while, all the old allegiances were exchanged; as an ally of the lord of Milan, Florence, with all resources united in the hands of a new central agency for the war, her "Eight Saints," was caught in a violent struggle against the papal armies. The outcome for Florence was a further strengthening of her tendency to look upon herself as the champion of city-state independence.

By the beginning of the 1380's, northern and central Italy had reached a degree of differentiation in political structure and attitude such as had been unknown in medieval Italy. Without oversimplifying a complex situation, we may say that, while tyrannical integration and the destruction of the republican freedom of local city-states had reached their consummation in

libertatem suis operibus semper est prompta defendere. . . . Et si ex utilitate volueris hec forsitan ponderare, tanto tutior huic urbi sua videtur esse libertas, quanto latius se liberi populi circumfundant. Ex quo debet cuique facile persuaderi Florentinum populum libertatis cuiuslibet populi defensorem, in quibus et suam libertatem faciliiori cura defendit." Salutati, Ep. III 17, in *Epistolario*, ed. Francesco Novati, I (Rome, 1891), 194 f. In 1383, in a similar vein, Salutati called Florence "free and procreator of liberty on all sides [*libertatis undique genitricem*], qualities which are the highest glory of nations." Ep. V 17, *ibid.*, II (1893), 85.

⁹ See the account of Florence's role, from archival material, in Gustav Pirchan, *Italien und Kaiser Karl IV. in der Zeit seiner zweiten Romfahrt* (Prague, 1930), pp. 208, 222, 380 ff., 404 ff.

Lombardy, Tuscany had become the home of a provincial coalition of city-republics which included former Ghibelline as well as Guelph members. While "Ghibelline" Milan had arrived at the point on the road to modern centralizing absolutism where the lord of Milan and Lombardy, in the eyes of war-weary Italy, could take the place once attributed by Dante to a pacifying universal emperor, "Guelphism" in Tuscany was shedding its medieval hull and emerging as a political program of civic freedom and independence of the central Italian city-republics. In this changed environment, when almost immediately after the settlement of the Tuscan conflict with the Papal State the old antithesis between the Tuscan metropolis and the expanding tyrannical north re-emerged, a larger burden of responsible leadership than ever before fell on Florentine shoulders. Since the popes, after their return to Rome, were farther removed from direct contacts with the dynamic forces in the Po Valley, they were now more inclined to stay in the background and let Florence bear the brunt of the battle. And at that very moment, in the year 1385, Giangaleazzo Visconti, the shrewdest and most farsighted of the many great and ruthless statesmen of the Visconti family, took the helm of the Milanese state.¹⁰

In 1386 and the following year, in a classic example of *divide et impera* policy, the new Milanese lord, as an ally of the Carrara of Padua, destroyed the state of the Scaligeri in Verona and Vicenza, only to overrun the Carrara immediately afterwards and to unite the dominions of nearly the entire north Italian plain in 1388. As a contemporary Florentine historian, Gregorio Dati, later wrote in retrospect, it was "a stroke of lightning so sudden" that the Florentines "were hardly able in so short a time to decide what to do in such a difficult case"; the most experienced Florentine statesmen shied away from the enormous expenses and risks of a war, "since they could not conceive that the intentions of the Visconti went even further"—even beyond the great successes already won in northern Italy. Moreover, says Dati, the Milanese lord understood how to support his complaints against the Scaligeri and the Carrara with reasons of such shrewdness that an intervention on the part of Florence, beyond attempts at mediation, seemed hardly justifiable.¹¹

¹⁰ Our indispensable guide through the labyrinth of diplomacy in the period of Giangaleazzo is D.M. Bueno De Mesquita's *Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, 1351-1402* (Cambridge, 1941). This work is equally important as the sole extant summary of the results of the extensive special literature on Giangaleazzo's foreign policy, and as a source book of many new archival documents not accessible elsewhere. But it does not advance from the reproduction of diplomatic details to a history of the profounder tendencies of the period (see Ferdinand Schevill's critique in *Speculum*, XVI [1941], 491 f.), and, because of this limitation, neglects the works of the contemporary publicists and therewith the most characteristic and revealing testimonies for the meaning of the Milanese-Florentine struggle.

¹¹ Gregorio Dati, *L'istoria di Firenze dal 1380 al 1405*, ed. L. Pratesi (Norcia, 1904), p. 27. The documentary reconstruction of Florence's politics in 1388 by Giovanni Collino "La

The attitude of the Venetian Republic combined with Giangaleazzo's fraudulence to paralyze Florentine action. It ought to have been the role of Venice, Padua's neighbor, to frustrate Giangaleazzo's design, and Florentine diplomacy since the Milanese conquest of Verona had been working frantically on a scheme under which Venice should guarantee Padua's independence after obtaining, by amicable settlement, the eastern dependencies of the Carrara state which she considered necessary for her own security. But Florence had found both parties unwilling, and blind to the Milanese danger; Venice had in the end preferred to enter into an understanding and alliance with Giangaleazzo in return for receiving as her share in the spoils the Carrara territories around Treviso. The minutes of Florentine council meetings held about the time of the Milanese conquest of Padua allow us to observe that in Florence there had been discussion of vast aid to the Carrara, and even of direct intervention in the war against Giangaleazzo; but all such plans were given up because the councilors feared that Florence's active intervention might provoke an armed clash with Venice.¹²

We learn from the same minutes that another part of the Florentine reaction to the events in northern Italy was a plan for friendly adjustment of any quarrels between the commune of Florence and "all the free Tuscans." In the center of the council deliberations stood the project to make voluntary concessions in Florence's territorial disputes especially with Siena, in order to pave the way for a firm rebuilding of the Florentine-Tuscan city-league which had been weakened since the early 1380's, and to have this league once more joined by Bologna and Perugia. The *libertas* of Bologna, in particular, was generally looked upon as inseparable from the *libertas* of Florence herself; speaker after speaker dwelt upon the necessity of defending both together.

Before long, the Florentine government made another attempt to change Venice's attitude. In 1389, Florentine envoys warned the doge of the danger of the situation. They were charged to explain that the Visconti was endeavoring to obtain the rule of the whole of Italy by "taking possession of the Florentine State, and then of the States of the Venetians and the

guerra veneto-viscontea contro i Carraresi nelle relazioni di Firenze . . . (1388)," *Archivio storico lombardo*, XXXVI (1909), 11 f., 15 f., confirms Dati's points: the deceitfulness of Giangaleazzo's diplomacy and the inability of the Florentine politicians to grasp its scope immediately.

¹² See the minutes of the *consulte* of November 23-25, 1388, published by Collino, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-48; esp. the opinions, "*quod dominus Paduanus non adiuvetur neque palam neque occulte, ne Veneti provocentur et veniatur ad guerram cum ipsis . . .*" (p. 343, similarly pp. 343-44), and "*non capiatur guerra cum comite propter Venetos*" (p. 345).

Genoese; for the others are of no account, once he has subjugated these." To this exposition of peninsular interdependence among the Italian republics the Venetian government simply replied that they could see no reason for alarm.¹³ So it became definitely clear that the city of the lagoon, secure or at least believing herself secure on her islands, would not throw her weight into the decisive encounter between unifying monarchy and the tradition of independence inherited from the age of the communes.¹⁴

No less disappointing was the course of events in Tuscany. Here, too, the conventional attitudes and diplomatic methods proved inadequate in the face of a power strong enough to penetrate and dissolve the customary order of every region of the peninsula north of Rome. Siena and Pisa were soon making secret contacts with the Visconti, trying to find in the rising colossus of the north a safeguard for their own security and at the same time a counterpoise to Florence's supremacy in the provincial Tuscan balance of power. Thus the very beginning of the war-filled era, which was not to end until Giangaleazzo's death, was marked by the collapse of all Florentine hopes for a united front of the free city-states on a regional, or an even broader, basis.

The one thing Florentine politics could try to do in this situation, and indeed undertook with vigor as soon as the shock of the Paduan debacle had worn off, was to bring about co-operation with the most directly endangered local powers on the northeastern slopes of the Apennines—Bologna as well as such minor signories as Ravenna, Faenza, and Imola. But these efforts proved insufficient without the active participation of a major north Italian power—and only Venice could have given the necessary help. If the tide was to be stemmed, the Florentine Republic had to stop the breach with more effective means before the flood could cross the Apennines.

The first objective of Florentine diplomacy was to establish peace by agreeing on a line of demarcation. If Giangaleazzo was willing to respect the Secchia, a southern tributary of the Po passing not far west of Bologna, Florence and Bologna in return would refrain from interfering in Lombardy, northwest of the river.¹⁵ But Florentine attempts to reach such an agreement with Milan remained fruitless. Giangaleazzo's intentions became obvious. Armed intervention was inevitable.

¹³ See the quotations from the archival documents in Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo*, p. 107.

¹⁴ On Venice's attitude in this period see Giorgio Bolognini, "Le relazioni tra . . . Firenze e . . . Venezia nell' ultimo ventennio del sec xiv," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, IX (1895), 3-110, and Roberto Cessi, "Venezia neutrale nella seconda lega anti-Viscontea, 1392-97," *ibid.*, N.S. XXVIII (1914), 233-307.

¹⁵ According to the instruction for the Florentine envoys published by Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo*, pp. 342-45.

III

In the year 1390, the Florentine Republic definitely assumed her place in the resistance against the Visconti on a plane of peninsular scope. She waged the first open war against Giangaleazzo which lasted from 1390 to 1392. The dangers implied in the rise of the Visconti monarchy had by then become so evident that Florence could enter the struggle with manifestoes proclaiming that the goal of the "tyrant of Lombardy" could now be discerned: he wanted to become "king." He had been telling Italy that he was the champion of peace at the very time when he was destroying Verona's and Padua's independence. "These are the labors for peace by which, as he contends, he has striven for the *Pax Italiae*." While preparing for war by every means at his command, he had lured Florence into disarming, only to arm himself; he had armed Florence's former friends, thus making them her enemies. Florence was taking up arms for the defense of her own liberty and for the liberty of the peoples under the yoke of the Visconti.¹⁶

The Florentine performance in the war was neither spectacular nor militarily impressive. True, Florence's intervention did infuse into the group of still independent cities and *signori* in the northeast the vitality and coherence that ought to have come to the region from Venice; in this respect the war was a success. Moreover, at the eastern flank of the Visconti empire the Paduan state came back into existence, though impoverished and (because of Venice's occupation of Treviso) reduced in size. Finally, out of the war a larger bloc of northeastern states arose which included the Padua of the Carrara, the Ferrara of the Este, the Mantua of the Gonzaga, the city of Bologna, and the smaller autonomous dominions of the region—all united with Florence in the "League of Bologna." But these successes produced merely a temporary stop gap; the war had not revealed any new energies in the Florentine citizenry that promised lasting resistance to the aims of the Visconti. The League of Bologna was no more than an instrument of balance-of-power diplomacy with the lesser north Italian tyrants playing the vital role. Even if all members of this coalition stood for independence, few stood for civic liberty. The most significant military success in the war had not been won by any of the city-republics but was due to the loyalty of the in-

¹⁶ The manifesto quoted, the Florentine rejoinder to Giangaleazzo's declaration of war, is printed in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XVI, col. 815-17. ("*Quid prodesse potest pacis studium, dum ille . . . pacem verbis annuntians bellum totis conatibus machinatur? Exarmavit nos, ut posset offendere. Armavit Senenses et alios, ne possent cum suis antiquis fratribus amicitiam integrare.*" "*Nos . . . Tyranno Lombardiae, qui se Regem facere cupit et inung[ui]ere, bellum indicimus, et pro libertatis nostrae defensione et libertate illorum, quos tam grave iugum opprimit, arma movere.*") For other Florentine proclamations see Francesco Landogna, "La politica dei Visconti in Toscana," *Bollettino della Società pavese di storia patria*, XXVIII (1928), 172.

habitants of the Paduan territory to their native lord. When the Carrara reappeared in his land, the population responded to his call, and it was with these troops, "nearly all unwarlike peasants, not accustomed to the exercise of arms," that he forced the Milanese garrison to surrender in the face of a general upheaval of the Paduan people.¹⁷ And in addition to the north Italian *signori*, Florence's war allies had been the king of France and the duke of Bavaria. Florence, indeed, had gone so far as to agree to French occupation of the entire western Po Valley after victory,¹⁸ and when Giangaleazzo had crushed the French he could boast of having defeated foreign invaders with an army "composed exclusively of Italian soldiers." In spite of the call to liberty in the Florentine manifestoes, the hour when Florence could rightly claim to be the savior of the *libertas Italiae* was yet to come.

The emergence of the League of Bologna did not bring any real pause to the smoldering conflict; while the arms rested, the struggle on the diplomatic front continued with undiminished force. Henceforth Giangaleazzo behaved like some one who, in an attempt to pull down a well-cemented barrier in his way, hits every single stone successively, hoping that one will at last give way, or that a multitude of tiny dislocations will in the end break down the edifice. Within Tuscany, Siena (as we know) had been making overtures to Giangaleazzo, and from 1389 on it had admitted Milanese troops. In 1392, after a *coup d'état* against the Florentinophile government, Pisa accepted a similar arrangement—a success for the Visconti cause which snatched the vital ports on the mouth of the Arno away from Florentine control. In its long-range effects this event led to a fatal weakening of the League of Bologna. For Florence, deprived of a reliable connection with the western sea, was forced thereafter to look for another outlet to the world, seeking it across the Apennines in the territories of her northeastern allies, along a road leading eventually to Ravenna or some neighboring port on the eastern coast. But the first Florentine effort to lease a military base on the northeastern slope of the Apennines in order to secure control over the needed highways called forth so violent a reaction of local suspicions that the alliance began to show serious cracks.¹⁹

While the foundations of the league were thus being undermined, confidence and influence rose steadily in the Visconti camp. In 1394-95 the German king Wenceslaus was planning for the customary Italian expedi-

¹⁷ See the reports published by Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo*, pp. 123 and 346.

¹⁸ Shown by Léon Mirot, "La politique française en Italie sous le règne de Charles VI, 1380-1422," *Revue des études historiques*, C (1933), 499 f.

¹⁹ See Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo*, pp. 193-96, on the issuing perils for the League of Bologna.

tion to obtain the imperial crown in Rome; before starting out, he looked for allies in the parts of Italy through which his army was to pass. While Florence and the League of Bologna declined, true to the old Guelph distrust of association with the empire, Giangaleazzo made clever use of the opportunity: Wenceslaus, in need of financial resources for the Italian adventure, sold to the Visconti the rank of duke of Milan and prince of the empire. In the political conditions of northern Italy, where many of the smaller lords were trying to obtain or had already obtained some lesser legal titles from the empire, this rank meant a considerable increase of authority for the Milanese *signori* in their work of consolidating the newly won possessions.

These were the auspices under which the Florentine-Milanese struggle approached its climax when hostilities were resumed to open the so-called "Mantuan war" of the years 1397 and 1398. Florence was by now fully aware of the significance of the situation. "Who does not see that this Florentine city is the defender of the common cause of liberty in Italy?" asked Coluccio Salutati, writing a defense of Florence's stand. "Who would not admit that if the Florentine people were defeated, freedom could not survive, and all Italy would be helplessly lost in serfdom?"²⁰ The author of another pamphlet defending the policy of Florence in the spring or summer of 1397 began to reinterpret Florence's recent history. Through generations, he said, Florence had been prepared for leadership in the camp of independence and freedom. Even at the time of the invasion of Tuscany by the Scaligeri in the early Trecento, Florence had "saved liberty in Italy"; if Mastino della Scala, by subjecting Florence, "had cut off the head of liberty, he would have found what remained to have been a dead body," and would easily have "subjugated all Italy." From long experience Florence had learned to play her part against the Visconti.²¹

In the new war Florence held her own militarily. Milanese raids into the Florentine territory, and almost to the walls of the city, were endured without detriment to Florentine morale, while Florence's financial resources

²⁰ Coluccio Salutati, *Invectiva in Antonium Luschum*, ed. Domenico Moreni (Florence, 1826), p. 7. Salutati's pamphlet, although its composition was not completed until 1402 and 1403, and it was not published before the end of the latter year, was drafted (contrary to current opinion) during the winter of 1397-98. A critical analysis of its text shows that the quoted passage belongs to the original draft.

²¹ Cino Rinuccini in his *Risponsiva alla Invettiva di Messer Antonio Lusco*, published in the appendix of the quoted edition of Salutati's *Invectiva* by Moreni, pp. 200 ff., 249. The customary dating of this "Response to Loschi's Invective" in 1403 is in error. Loschi composed his challenge not between 1399 and 1401 (as has usually been assumed, see Vittorio Rossi's *Il Quattrocento*, 3d ed., Milan, 1933, p. 67), but at the beginning of the Mantuan War, in March or April, 1397, and Rinuccini's "Response" was worked out (though it remained unpublished) that April, May, or June.

and technical inventiveness were concentrated on foiling Giangaleazzo's efforts to destroy the vital bridge over the Po at Mantua and to eliminate the strategic northwestern bastion of the league. But the military successes of the allies were not enough to offset the fact that the political balance had steadily been inclining toward the Visconti side; and thus the war, dragging along, did not prevent the crumbling of the dike which Florence had maintained so laboriously during the past half-score years.

Among the most serious odds that Florence had to face was Venice's continued refusal to take her place in the shifting balance of power on the peninsula. While Florence, in the hard school of disappointments and immediate perils, was beginning to think in terms of mutual interdependence and co-operation among the Italian states, Venice went on relying on her insular protection and her ability to keep the furies of the mainland wars from her doorstep by the small means of shrewd diplomatic gambles. Toward the Florence-founded League of Bologna, Venice had always shown a friendly attitude, but for as long as possible this friendship stopped short of active participation. Only when, in spite of the early military successes, the league's survival appeared more and more in doubt, did Venice at last join her neighbor states (early in 1398) to repair the resilience of the weakened organism. But after only a few months it became clear that, far from changing the pattern of Venice's isolationist policy, the purpose of her intercession was nothing but a calculated maneuver. By throwing her friends into the lion's path at the first favorable occasion, Venice hoped to lure the danger away from her own house. Once her appearance on the scene had proved to the lord of Milan that any continued advance in the northeast would force Venice to intervene, the Venetian government proposed a compromise. Venice was to withdraw from the league on condition that Milan would allow the members of the league to live on as more or less independent buffer states between the Milanese and the Venetian dominions. As for Tuscany, the accord failed to provide any guarantee for the future safety of this region, although Venice had been commissioned to negotiate in Florence's name; it stipulated only that conquests made by both parties were to be relinquished. On this basis the Truce of Pavia was concluded in May, 1398, a feat of Venetian diplomacy to which Florence had to agree unless she was ready to see the Milanese troops, now freed from any counterweight in the east, continue the war in Tuscany with unrestricted resources.²²

What Venice had obtained was a revision both of the time-table and of

²² On the pact and its consequences for the Italian situation see Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo*, pp. 231 ff., 238, 244.

the direction of Milanese expansion. While the small states of the northeast, saved from immediate incorporation in the Visconti state, were making the best of the situation by concluding special treaties with the victor, Giangaleazzo was at liberty to proceed with building up outright signories south of the Apennines in every place that did not formally belong to the Florentine territorial state. Within less than two years, the entire picture of the Italian interstate situation was changed, even though the Florentine territory as such was not touched by force of arms. Within the area covered by the former league we find Gonzaga, Este, and Carrara breaking away, sooner or later, from the association with Bologna and Florence, and accepting the friendly hand extended by the Milanese lord. Their example was quickly followed by the multitude of lesser independent potentates and towns along the Romagna slope of the Apennines. France, which in the past war had been associated with Florence, withdrew her help since the idea of a two-front war in alliance with Florence against Milan was now hopeless. In 1399, the representatives of the city-state of Pisa officially accepted Giangaleazzo as their lord; the separation of Florence from the sea, for which three generations of the Visconti had striven, seemed at last to be final. When in the summer of the same year Siena openly recognized Giangaleazzo's signory, a land-slide started among the rest of the greater and lesser lords and communities in Tuscany. Lucca broke the obligations of her unexpired league with Florence; even Perugia in Umbria was gradually undermined by Milanese agents, until early in 1400 the Visconti there, too, was recognized as *signore*.

By that time all important central Italian inland places, including Cortona and Chiusi, Spoleto and Assisi, were in Viscontean hands; so was the entire coastal district in Florence's southwest, with Massa and Grosseto its foremost bastions. The Florentine and Bolognese territories alone were left, like a larger and a smaller island surrounded by the Milanese flood. Barring a miracle, northern and central Italy seemed destined to form one monarchy in the century ahead.

Florentine statesmen were entirely aware that the struggle for Florence's independence, and the political crisis of Italy, had entered their eleventh hour. Early in 1400, when the catastrophic change of the map of Italy was an accomplished fact (although the Truce of Pavia had not yet been permanently legalized by a formal peace), a Florentine delegation was sent to Venice for a last attempt to recreate, through a coalition, a semblance of balance between the powers. According to their commission, the Florentine envoys were to declare before the Venetian government that only solidarity among

the few remaining republics could save the peninsula from universal tyranny. They should make a stand, their commission read, against the argument that the tide should be allowed to turn, that the enemy of liberty would not live forever. The truth was, the envoys were to insist, that those who once lost their independence would never regain what had been lost, and without continued co-operation even the survivors of today would not be able to live on to tomorrow. "To us it seems that all those in Italy who are anxious to live in freedom must band together, and must be interested in, and take care of, their mutual preservation. . . . For it is a mistake to believe that, if one of us should fail to survive, the other could defend his possessions." In the last analysis "the defense of Florence was also that of Venice."²³

But by that time Venice, still entrusted with negotiating a peace with the victor in the name of both republics, had initiated a final accord on the basis of the extant state of things—the "Peace of Venice" which was signed by all parties in the March of 1400.²⁴ From then on the Florentine Republic, protected no longer by membership in any league except for her alliance with Bologna, and enjoying that protection only so long as Bologna could avoid surrender, was left alone to confront one of those challenges of history in which a nation, facing eclipse or regeneration, has to prove its worth in a fight for survival.

Even in the spring of 1400, however, the moment of the final test had not yet come. The Florentine envoys to Venice had warned that if Venice was not ready to throw her weight into the Italian balance, "this would mean casting the Florentine people into despair; they would feel wholly abandoned and left a prey to the tyrant."²⁵ In the next one or two years the Florentines, indeed, might justly have felt more lost, dejected, and alienated from their precious heritage than in any other period of Florentine history. Abandoned by all her friends, the former leader of the Guelph city-states, who in 1395 still had scorned to extend a hand to King Wenceslaus, in 1401 found herself forced to look for the only possible aid in the person of another German pretender to the imperial throne—the newly elected rival of Wenceslaus, Rupert of the Palatinate. When Rupert's army of German knights crossed the Alps and appeared at the outlet of the valley of the Adige into the north Italian plain, everyone knew that the impending expedition through the peninsula had been prepared largely with Florentine money.

²³ " . . . la nostra difesa è la loro medesima." See the commission given to the Florentine envoys to Venice, April 7, 1400, published from the archives by Mesquita, pp. 365–70.

²⁴ See the appraisal of the situation created by the Peace of Venice in Heinrich Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, II (1920), 249.

²⁵ In the commission quoted above in note 23.

The Florentine Republic stood before the judgment seat of Italian opinion as the party guilty of having called hated foreign men of arms from beyond the Alps.²⁶ The victory of Giangaleazzo's Italian mercenaries over these invaders—at Brescia, in October, 1401, before they could enter the Italian plain—was bound therefore to appear as a national triumph of the Italian arms. As such it was proclaimed by Viscontean propaganda throughout Italy. Not only was Florence's last hope gone for a new front in the rear of the Visconti empire but, even in the war of ideas which had accompanied the contest of diplomacy and arms, everything Florence had stood for in her history was on the brink of destruction.

The never-ceasing expansion of the Milanese empire had been justified from the first by Italy's need for national strength and peace through unification by the power of one ruler. If one after another of the old city-states of northern and central Italy gave themselves up to the Visconti as lord—even before the appearance of Milanese troops made this last step inevitable—the cause was not merely and not always expediency. In every Italian province and town there had been a pro-Viscontean group, inspired by Viscontean propaganda as well as Viscontean money.²⁷ Whereas in all preceding and later centuries the spirit of autonomy in Italian towns, and their pride in the glorious past of civic liberty, were loath to die, we hear of almost no protests in the name of liberty against the triumph of tyranny in the hectic decades of Giangaleazzo's advance—except in Florence. From all the occupied towns there was a steady accretion to the Milanese camp of writers and humanists who were ready to celebrate the Viscontean conquests as the long overdue and hoped-for defeat of particularism and unending strife.²⁸

²⁶ The only comparable situation in Florence's past had emerged in 1352 when, shortly after the Florentine catastrophes of the 1340's, the archbishop Giovanni Visconti was on the brink of invading Tuscany, and Florence promised the German king Charles IV half of his military expenses as soon as the German horsemen arrived in Italy as allies against Milan. But that deviation from Florence's Guelph traditions had amazed all Italy, as Matteo Villani tells us in his chronicle (III 6); it was not repeated in the period of Florence's moral and material recovery during the later part of the Trecento; and, last but not least, negotiations in 1352, very different from the course of events in 1401–1402, had eventually not succeeded in bringing a German army to Italy.

²⁷ The most striking example is that of the "grievances" of Genoa in 1396 (*Giornale ligustico*, XIII [1886], 401–13); there Genoa is represented as imploring Giangaleazzo to come to her help by way of annexation. For other examples see Arturo Palmieri, "La congiura per sottomettere Bologna al Conte di Vertù [i.e., Giangaleazzo]," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, 4th ser., VI (1916); and Renato Piattoli, "Di un' ignoto tentativo di Giangaleazzo Visconti per far ribellare la terra di Prato in 1402," *Archivio storico pratese*, X (1931–32).

²⁸ For the appraisal (and the bibliography) of this Milanese propaganda see Natalino Sapegno, *Il Trecento* (Milan, 1934), chap. viii, esp. pp. 462–73, and Delio Cantimori in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I (1937–38), 84. Still fundamental as collections of the material are Antonio Medin, "I Visconti nella poesia contemporanea," *Archivio storico lombardo*, XVIII (1891), 733–95, and Alessandro d'Ancona, "Il concetto dell' unità politica nei poeti italiani," in his *Studi di critica e storia letteraria*, I (2d ed., 1912), esp. pp. 39–45.

As early as the end of the 1380's, when the cities in the dominions of the Scaligeri and Carrara became Milanese, Antonio Loschi came from conquered Vicenza, to voice the hope that Giangaleazzo's generals would join the dismembered parts of Italy together, and that henceforth the Milanese lord "would rule Italy in peace." From Padua came Francesco di Vannozzo, who in a symbolic *corona* of sonnets represented all the cities of Italy—including Padua and Venice, Bologna and Florence—as dreaming of an Italian kingdom with Rome as its capital, and hailing Giangaleazzo as "the Messiah who has arrived" for Italy. When finally, in 1401-1402, Giangaleazzo seemed on the point of marching across the Apennines into the heart of central Italy, Saviozzo da Siena came from this old and proud Tuscan city-republic with sonnets that compared the duke to Caesar encamped on the Rubicon before his march to Rome, and prayed for the success of Giangaleazzo's enterprise "in the name of every true Italian" while deprecating "the detestable seed, enemy of quietude and peacefulness, which they call liberty." From Giangaleazzo's entourage in Lombardy, Loschi (now in the ducal chancery) continued with manifestoes and poetry to drive home to the Italian public the Milanese claim that all the misery of war engendered by Giangaleazzo's expansion was the result of Florence's intrigues in resisting unification and peace; while Giovanni de' Mussi, chronicler in nearby Piacenza, in passages which still rang in the ears of patriotic Italian historians of the nineteenth century, talked of the need for Lombardy and Tuscany to be under one "natural lord," who also would annihilate the numberless local dynasts in the neighboring Papal State.²⁹ When the fortunes of Florence were at their lowest ebb, the Milanese humanist Uberto Decembrio advised the Florentines to recognize that waiting for help from others was vain. The only hope for the future, he said, for Florence no less than for the rest of the peninsula, was under the rule of the duke of Milan to rebuild "the state of Italy" (*statum italicum*), which once had been the lord of the world.³⁰

In the decisive year 1402 this propaganda, which was effectively shaping Italian opinion, joined forces with the armed power of the Visconti which, freed from the last checks in the north, was ready to roll down to the south, across the Apennines, through the Florentine dominions, and possibly on to Rome. Under the impact of this avalanche the oldest and now the only ally

²⁹ This much remains true of the earlier exaggerated assertions that Mussi, as one of the first, had voiced "*la parola unitaria*" in Italy. See the note on a fresh discussion of Mussi's "*concetto dell'unità politica italiana*" in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, CX (1937), 179.

³⁰ See Nino Valeri, *La vita di Facino Cane* (Turin, 1940), pp. 111 f.

of Florence, Bologna, already torn by internal tyranny and strife, gave way. Even here, just as it had been with most other conquered cities, no military force was required to finish the job. Groups of the citizenry opposed to the government made a successful plot backed up by Milanese diplomatic help and Milanese money. In June, 1402, Milanese troops were admitted into the town, and in July the elected representatives of the citizenry officially transferred the "*dominium*" of Bologna to the Visconti.

The passes across the Apennines, and practically the entire Florentine territory outside the capital, now lay without adequate means of defense before the Milanese armies. The Florentines expected any day to see the enemy before the gates; Italy, during the next few months, was full of rumors that Milanese troops had crossed the Florentine frontiers, and that the final act of the drama had begun. Yet Giangaleazzo did not give the signal for the attack. The precious weeks and months of the summer, which had to be used if the campaign was to be brought to its conclusion in 1402, passed in inaction. We have no documents to tell the causes of Giangaleazzo's hesitation, but the reasons suggest themselves readily to anyone who weighs all the factors in the situation.³¹ In Giangaleazzo's long political career, there had been few cases in which great cities had been attacked and taken by outright force. His method, of which he was a past master, had always been to throw over his victim a net woven of superior might and poignant propaganda, and then to wait until the certainty of doom, causing treachery and defection in the adversary's ranks, made minds and fortifications yield voluntarily to the new lord. After a long period of patient waiting, this method had just borne fruit in Bologna. It is well understandable that Giangaleazzo clung to his tested policies when meeting his last and most dangerous foe; he did not wish to close with him before the ground was materially and morally prepared for a safe and quick success. Even if Florence should not in the end open her doors, as Bologna and Pisa, Siena and Perugia, Verona and Vicenza had done, she was in chains that were bound to chafe and in time to break her. Cut off, as she was, from the two seas, she was frustrated in her vital commercial interchange, surrounded on all sides by a circle of Milanese territories, distrusted and disliked by many of her former friends who had been swayed by the peninsula-wide campaign for unification and contempt of city-state freedom.

One cannot trace the history of this explosive stage in the genesis of the

³¹ Personal ambitions and jealousies among the Milanese *condottieri*, to which Mesquita prominently refers (*Giangaleazzo*, pp. 288-92), cannot possibly have caused a personality like Giangaleazzo to give up the consummation of his plans and victories for the entire remainder of the decisive year.

states system of the Renaissance without being struck by its resemblance to events in modern history when unifying conquest loomed over Europe. In a like fashion, Napoleon and Hitler, poised on the coast of the English Channel and made confident by their victories over every relevant power but one, waited for the propitious time for their final leap—until the historic moment had passed and unforeseen developments had upset the apparently inevitable course of fate. This is the only perspective from which one can adequately reconstruct the crisis of the summer of 1402 and grasp its material and psychological significance for the political history of the Renaissance, and in particular for the growth of the Florentine civic spirit.

The unforeseen event which in the autumn of the year 1402 changed everything on the Italian scene was epidemic and death. The plague, a constant threat in the age of the Renaissance, especially during long wars, began to make terrible ravages in the hot summer of that year in northern Italy. In spite of all efforts of the Milanese government to conceal the grim news, it became more and more widely known in the course of September that the halt which the Viscontean army had made at the Florentine frontier had been a halt forever: on September 3, Giangaleazzo himself had been carried off by the epidemic.

His death was the signal for the resurgence of all his subdued and frightened enemies. For the next fifteen or twenty years the state of the Visconti would once more be confined to the Lombard province around Milan—long enough to allow north and central Italy to lay the foundations for an equilibrium among independent region-states quickened and hastened in their rise by the shock of the Giangaleazzo crisis.³²

It is only natural that many Florentines of that period—the decades when civic humanism came finally into its own—credited their almost miraculous salvation more to the brave stand which they alone in Italy had made than to the sudden removal of the tyrant from the scene. The objective historian may wonder as historians have done since Leonardo Bruni whether, if Giangaleazzo had lived, even Florence's firm will to resist would not have been in vain, and whether the Florentine war for independence might not have ended in something similar to the doom of the other Italian states. But for the climate of life, and for political opinion in Florence, the fact that the republic had met the challenge bravely meant the difference between victory and defeat. In the middle of the fourteenth century, when tyranny had emerged as an internal threat in most of the Tuscan towns, Florence

³² The conditions after Giangaleazzo's death are now well known from the excellent analysis in Nino Valeri's *L'Eredità di Giangaleazzo Visconti* (Turin, 1938).

had had her tyrant in the person of the duke of Athens; but she had quickly expelled him by a sudden outburst of the Florentine will to liberty in a series of events to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in other Italian cities. When, about 1400, tyranny threatened civic freedom from the outside and all the other city-states succumbed, Florence again was unique in actively defending and maintaining her freedom. Throughout the early Renaissance, Florentine character and thought were shaped by the memory of these two historic episodes.

IV

But to return from the effects to the causes of the Florentine perseverance in the war: What ought we to think prompted Florence to hold out so determinedly at a time when no one could foresee that sudden death would undo the lifework of Giangaleazzo Visconti?

One answer is that the experienced merchant-statesmen on the Arno must have discerned certain elements of hope beyond the seeming certainty of doom apparent to the average observer. In the first place, even if Florence was at that moment as helpless and comparatively easy a prey as never before in her history, conditions in the camp of the victor, too, were perilously overstrained. All documents which have come to light from the Milanese archives prove the truth of the conviction then held by leading Florentines that the Visconti state was approaching economic exhaustion through the ruinous overtaxation needed to keep large Milanese armies in the field through years and years of aggressive wars. Also, the longer the final catastrophe was delayed, the greater was the chance that the remaining neutral powers, Venice and the pope, would recover from their shock and eventually help to restore some sort of balance.

But once this has been noted it must also be said that any such reasoning and hope could not spring from cool diplomatic calculations alone but required a measure of calm self-confidence and faith in native liberty and independence found nowhere else on the peninsula in the summer of 1402. Whereas a wave of defeatism and treachery swept the ruling groups of the other Italian towns, a story of heroic defiance comes from Florence in the days when the news arrived of the destruction of the small Florentine force near Bologna (at Casalecchio, on June 26), indicating that Bologna was as good as lost, and that the Florentine territory lay open before the Viscontean army. True, among the masses of the Florentine city population and even more among the peasants in the territory, there was no lack of discontent, as the chroniclers tell us.³³ But the reaction of the statesmen in

³³ Giovanni di Paolo Morelli, *Cronica*, ed. in the appendix to Ricordano Malespini, *Istoria fiorentina* (Florence, 1718), p. 313. For other testimonies see François Tommy Perrens, *Histoire de Florence*, VI (Paris, 1883), 94.

the city councils was different, and we can speak of it with assurance since the official minutes of a meeting on the day after Casalecchio are available.³⁴ The question then was whether to try to come to terms with the victor in some way, as all other Italian states had done, or to go on stubbornly with the few possible measures of defense: grant all-out military and financial authority to the officers in charge, provide for local defense by sending citizens as surveyors to the fortifications in the countryside, insure harmony and unity within the ruling group, and step up the efforts to obtain outside help, especially from Venice. These measures, in fact, and no thought of surrender, is what two of the leaders, Filippo de' Corsini and Maso degli Albizzi, advocated and what the council supported generally; there was a feeling in the air of the decisive historic import of the hour. "In adversity *virtus* is put to the test; therefore, we should show audacity and strength, although things at Bologna have gone against us," runs Filippo de' Corsini's comment. "Even though the troops which we had at Bologna are destroyed, we must courageously go on," is Maso degli Albizzi's advice. And similarly all others in the group: "We should not fear, but resist with courage"; "let our minds not be subdued, but roused." There is no chance for compromise, says one of the councilors; "we have been long at war with the lords of Milan, and there will never be peace until one side is destroyed; therefore, we must react bravely and without despondency."

These calls for courage and audacity were not intended to belittle the ultimate gravity of the situation. If it was argued that the Milanese threat could not go on indefinitely for economic reasons, it was also true that Florence, too, was facing economic catastrophe, entirely cut off as she was from the outside world, her industry and trade paralyzed for many years.³⁵ The only question was which of the two opponents would be the first to suffer economic collapse, and the decision depended partly on the extent to which the Florentine merchants were ready to go in sacrificing their resources in this duel. Strong will and faith were needed also in their efforts to persuade Venice and the pope to intervene, in spite of the unbroken chain of disappointments in the preceding years. There were signs, it is true, that these two remaining neutrals were beginning to grow genuinely alarmed after the fall of Bologna. But when Florence in the late summer sent envoys to Rome they made the dismaying discovery that Giangaleazzo was once

³⁴ Extracts from the "Liber Consiliorum secretorum Comunis Florentie" are published in the *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi per il Comune di Firenze*, ed. Cesare Guasti, I (Florence, 1867), II.

³⁵ See Renato Piattoli, "Il problema portuale di Firenze . . . 1402-5," *Rivista storica degli Archivi toscani*, II (1930), esp. pp. 159-61, where the cutting off of all Florentine roads and ports in Giangaleazzo's last years is shown to have made it possible for him to hope for "the economic and, in consequence, the political breakdown of his opponent."

more trying to buy off a neutral's intervention with a *divide et impera* deal. Rumor had it that there was in the air a papal-Milanese understanding, based on a proposed return of Perugia to the Papal State and on Papal recognition of the Milanese occupation of Bologna.³⁶ Venice, on the other hand, now offered an alliance to Florence. But this hopeful possibility also vanished upon closer contact between the two powers. Venice demanded that she have a free hand in negotiating with Milan in Florence's name, and consequently the situation would have been repeated that had led to the calamities of the Truce of Pavia in 1398 and of the Peace of Venice in 1400. Florence declined the help offered with this condition.³⁷

From whatever side we approach Florentine conduct in 1402 we are thus led to the conclusion that, in the hour of crisis, moral and ideological forces were at work to help the Florentines pursue a course different from that of the rest of Italy. In all the other old Italian city-republics, readiness to obey a unifying "new Caesar" made citizens and publicists forget their pride in a past of independence and civic freedom. In Florence, in the summer of 1402, this pride became more vigorous than ever at a unique moment unparalleled in her history: one city-republic face to face with one despotic monarchy. In the words of Gregorio Dati, who witnessed the decisive events at the time of Giangaleazzo's death from the vantage point of a responsible public office:

To be conquered and become subjects, this never seemed to the Florentines to be a possibility; for their minds are so alien and averse to such an idea that they could not bring themselves to accept it in any of their thoughts. Each time they imagined themselves to have many remedies; and certainly, a heart that is free and sure of itself never fails to bring it about that some way and remedy is found. Always they comforted themselves with the hope, which in their eyes was a certainty on which they could count, that a Commonwealth [*il Comune*] cannot die, while the duke was one single mortal man, whose end would mean the end of his empire. . . . And consequently, . . . the Florentines never rested; when one remedy had worn thin or failed, they immediately resorted to some other.

They were (as Dati sums up the situation) the "hedge" that stopped the Milanese advance; "for surely, if the Florentines had not held out, he would have found no resistance in Italy; he would have become lord of everything" and "king of Italy." "And one may say that all the freedom of Italy lay in the hands of the Florentines alone, that every other power had deserted them."³⁸

³⁶ See the extracts from the dispatch of the Florentine envoys from Rome, in Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo*, pp. 370 f.

³⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 285.

³⁸ Dati, *L'istoria di Firenze*, pp. 72-74. ("D'essere vinti, cioè sottoposti, non ebbono mai alcun dubbio perchè gli animi loro sono tanto a lui contrari e avversi che non lo potevano con-

In this school of experience, Florentine humanists began to form a fresh estimate of the role of city-state independence and civic liberty in the past as well as in the present. In Leonardo Bruni's *Laudatio Florentinae urbis*, published one or two years after the height of the crisis,³⁹ there appeared for the first time the ideas that were to become the backbone of the Florentine historical outlook throughout the Renaissance: a new emphasis on Rome's republican era, tolling the bell for the medieval philosophy of universal monarchy, and a new conception of the history of Florence as that of the colony founded by Rome in Tuscany in the period of Roman civic freedom.

In the spring and summer of 1402 the Florentine Republic had passed through one of those rare historic moments when all compromises are swept away in the concentration of every political and intellectual resource on one single goal. The real issue of the Florentine-Milanese contest stood then revealed: out of the struggle had come the decision that the road was to remain open to the civic freedom, and to the system of independent states, which became a part of the civilization of the Italian Renaissance.

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[Part Two will appear in the April issue.]

sentire in alcun loro pensiero, e ogni volta pareva loro avere molti rimedi—siccome fa il cuore franco e sicuro che mai non li manca via e rimedio. . . . "E puossi dire che tutta la libertà d'Italia stesse solo nelle mani de' Fiorentini, che ogni altra potenza li abbandonò.")

³⁹ To be precise, in September, 1403, or possibly in September, 1404, but not in 1400 as is assumed by the accepted theory which has been fatal to an understanding of the interrelationship between the nascent outlook of Florentine humanism and the political experience in Giangaleazzo's last years.

Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis

JAMES Z. RABUN

OF the men prominent in the great American war of 1861-65, there were none whose relationship provided more interesting and more instructive lessons in the anatomy of abortive revolutions than the two topmost Confederates, Alexander Stephens and Jefferson Davis. Aptly these two symbolized the cross-purposes, the internal conflicts that divided the people of the Confederacy and weakened their cause. It is no accident that Stephens' name here appears first; for though he occupied the second office, it is upon him that attention must be focused.

It was in 1845 that the two men first became acquainted. For one session they served together in the United States House of Representatives, before Davis resigned his seat to go off to fight in the war with Mexico. Yet neither then nor later, after Davis returned to Washington as a senator, did the two progress beyond the stage of mere acquaintance. For in his early career Stephens was a wholehearted Whig, and he made little secret of his opinion that all Democrats were fools or knaves. If Davis as a Democrat placed a similar estimate upon Whigs, at least he was more discreet in expressing it. After the Whig party went to pieces in the 1850's and Stephens reluctantly went over to the Democrats, he encountered Davis only once in a situation that required more than mere formalities. That was in 1858, at a time when Southerners were fighting a fierce congressional battle to get Kansas admitted into the Union as a slaveholding state, and the tactics of the situation required Stephens, as the foremost Southerner in the House, and Davis, as one of the ranking Southerners in the Senate, to confer with each other. Davis actually knew William H. Seward better than he knew Stephens; and on his side, Stephens was better acquainted with John Quincy Adams and Joshua Giddings than with Davis.

Yet, however formal and featureless may have been the relationships between these two in Washington, it is scarcely likely that Stephens forgot an altercation that his great and good friend, Robert Toombs, had with Davis in 1853. Whatever affected Toombs was bound to influence Stephens. That unpleasantness of 1853 arose from the malice of a Georgia mischief-maker who sent Davis, then Secretary of War, a garbled report of criticisms upon Franklin Pierce's cabinet that Toombs had voiced in a speech in

Georgia's gubernatorial campaign. Davis retorted that Toombs's assertions were "radically false and corrupt."¹ Toombs's slashing reply classed Davis with "swaggering braggarts and cunning poltroons."² Tempers on both sides rose instantly almost to the boiling point, and rumors circulated in Washington and New York that a duel was impending between them. The rumors proved unfounded, but it was not until 1857, when Davis returned to the Senate and colleagues of both men intervened for the sake of Southern interests in Congress, that the two consented to speak to each other again.³

In the bitterly furious quarrels that sundered the Democratic party between 1857 and 1860, Davis and Stephens took opposite sides—Stephens defending Stephen A. Douglas and "popular sovereignty," Davis heatedly attacking both. Yet in no part of this controversy did the Georgian and the Mississippian come into contact; nor did they brush shoulders in the crisis that led up to and followed the election of Abraham Lincoln. Stephens consistently decried secession; and, though he was spiritless and fatalistic in resisting the tide that swept Georgia out of the Union, he nevertheless did oppose it. On his side, Davis lamely tried to delay disunion at the last moment. But in December, 1860, he joined other Southern congressmen in a declaration in favor of secession, and he fully justified it in a speech made in the Senate in January, 1861, before Mississippi voted to leave the Union.

If these two men had differed so widely before 1861, was it reasonable to suppose that they might work hand in hand from 1861 forward? Reasonable or not—that is precisely what the Southern convention that assembled in Montgomery in February, 1861, expected when it chose Davis President of the Confederacy and Stephens Vice-President. It elected the Georgian to the second office partly in order to demonstrate to a watching world that the cotton-growing South was now a unit; that men who previously had opposed secession now stood shoulder to shoulder with those who had worked for Southern independence; that there were no factions whatever to disturb the perfect harmony of the new government. Actually, the founders of the government at Montgomery might better have paused to question how deep the apparent harmony was. Never in its previous history had the South been united. Was it truly so now? A generation of political agitation had taught Southerners to abominate abolition. But had it unified them in other respects? In a land whose traditions spelled division and diversity, was it not

¹ Davis to Varney A. Gaskill, Sept. 21, 1853, in *Savannah Georgian*, Oct. 22, 1853.

² Toombs to the Editor of the *Chronicle and Sentinel*, Nov. 2, 1853, in *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, Nov. 4, 1853.

³ *Washington Union*, Mar. 18, 1857; *Macon Georgia Telegraph*, Mar. 24, 1857.

the duty of Confederate statesmanship to place in the two highest offices men whose identity of view and whose singleness of aim were absolutely unquestioned? Instead, expediency—as it so often has in America—controlled the choice. There was great irony in the selection of these two men: the first office went to one who had made not the slightest effort to obtain it and who wanted to be, not the Confederate President, but commander in chief of the Southern armies; while the second office was given to a man who distrusted every secessionist about him and who had consented to be a delegate to Montgomery mainly because he considered himself one of the very few Southerners with enough “high integrity, loyalty to principle, and pure disinterested patriotism” to guide the new government through its first crises.⁴

In important respects Davis and Stephens were much alike. Both had come from honest, industrious, yeoman parentage. Both had managed to acquire educations that were as respectable as their times afforded. Both had accumulated property, won political honors, and risen to the more discriminating ranks of Southern society. Both men took themselves with great seriousness, both were easily fatigued and often ill, and both showed strong neurasthenic strains. Both were humorless, self-conscious, and excessively sensitive. Neither knew much about the arts of conciliation and compromise, and each was likely to resent opposition, especially when he knew himself to be right.

Yet, at first, neither had much occasion to display these sharp aspects of personality. For, as with most revolutionary governments, the Confederacy enjoyed in its first months a brief honeymoon—a period when Southerners seemed actually to have achieved the unity of which they had so long talked. In these honeymoon days Davis and Stephens got on together agreeably. The President amply gratified his colleague’s sense of self-importance by consulting him often in the organization of the new government. As Stephens was chairman of the Provisional Congress’ Committee to Organize the Executive Departments, he talked with the President almost daily while cabinet members were being selected. More than anyone else, Stephens was responsible for Davis’ insistence that Toombs should accept a cabinet post: it was as a result of entreaties by both the President and the Vice-President that Toombs reluctantly consented to take charge of the State Department for a few months.⁵

⁴ A. H. Stephens to R. M. Johnston, Feb. 2, 1861, in Richard M. Johnston and William H. Browne, *Alexander H. Stephens* (Philadelphia, 1878), p. 384. Cited hereafter as Johnston and Browne.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 426; Toombs to Davis, Feb. 20, 1861, Toombs Papers, Duke University.

Directly after his inauguration, Davis turned to the most pressing "foreign" problem confronting him—his relations with his northern neighbor, the United States. And he asked Stephens to head the Confederate commission that was to go to Washington to negotiate with the United States for the transfer of the forts at Charleston and Pensacola. The Vice-President refused—on the ground that he could see absolutely nothing that he could accomplish in Washington. He was certain that the commission would fail and that his time would be wasted if he went. Consequently, he would not even try. Only two days earlier he had said: "War I look for as almost certain. Every effort should be made to avoid it, if possible, consistent with honor and right."⁶ Yet he was entirely willing to have someone else shoulder the responsibility of trying to avert it. So he urged Davis to appoint Henry Hilliard of Alabama, Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana—as representatives of the recent Bell, Douglas, and Breckenridge parties in the South. But none of these men exactly suited Davis' purposes, and he named, instead, André B. Roman of Louisiana, John Forsyth of Alabama, and Martin Crawford of Georgia. Crawford and Forsyth were personal and political friends of Stephens. Yet these appointments riled the Vice-President, and he called them "injudicious." To have his suggestions disregarded was a new experience for him in Montgomery. As one of Georgia's most influential delegates, he had been on the ground in Montgomery from the beginning and had been listened to with invariable deference and respect. So he now lamented, "I fear that the appointing power will not act with sufficient prudence discretion and wisdom."⁷ A few days later he complained: "I see great troubles ahead that nobody I meet with seems to be in the least aware of. This annoys me. We lack statesmanship of what I consider of the highest order. We have but few if any of real forecast. This renders me uneasy."⁸

The day after the Vice-President penned this gloomy lament, the President again had occasion to send for him. This time Davis showed his colleague a telegram from Little Rock. The Arkansas state convention was about to gather there for the purpose of arguing and deciding the question of secession; and two leading secessionists had telegraphed Davis urging him to send Stephens as commissioner from the Confederate government. If only *Stephens* would come, they said, they could swing enough wavering votes to carry the secession ordinance. But Stephens positively declined to go. He

⁶ A. H. Stephens to R. M. Johnston, Feb. 21, 1861, in Johnston and Browne, p. 387.

⁷ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Feb. 25 and 26, 1861, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College, Purchase, New York.

⁸ Same to same, Mar. 1, 1861, *ibid.*

said: "It was out of the question for me. I could not undertake the travel if there were no other reason, but I was confident I could do no good if I were there."⁹ So the President looked elsewhere for an agent, and Stephens doubtless felt himself amply justified when he later heard that the Arkansas convention had voted down the secession ordinance and had provided for a referendum on the question to be submitted to the voters in August.

In April, 1861, directly after the attack on Fort Sumter, Davis had a third occasion to ask the Vice-President to go on an official mission for the Confederacy. The day after the Virginia convention adopted its secession ordinance, Governor John Letcher sent a telegram from Richmond to Montgomery asking President Davis to dispatch a commissioner immediately for the purpose of arranging a military alliance between Virginia and the Confederate government, to be operative until Virginia could formally join the Confederacy. Davis at once asked Stephens to go. Again the Vice-President made excuses. In spite of the fact that he was "quite well" and had said so in a private letter the day before, he now pleaded that his health was precarious—"night travel might give me cold and make me sick."¹⁰ Davis might properly have wondered just what service the Vice-President would willingly render. Whatever he may have thought, he refused to accept Stephens' "no." The need for an authoritative Confederate commissioner in Richmond was too imperative. So the President persuaded the members of his cabinet to add their insistence, and Stephens was finally compelled to give in and go. It proved an easy mission to perform, for Virginians had no serious thought of standing aloof as an independent republic. And on the first of May Stephens returned to Montgomery with a treaty firmly binding Virginia to the Confederacy.

During 1861, when popular enthusiasm for the Confederacy was high, Stephens' public actions reflected the optimism that prevailed among all classes. In the six months that followed his election as Vice-President, he made not fewer than forty-two speeches in Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. In them he pleaded for unanimity among the people, urged the fullest and widest subscriptions to government loans, and predicted the certain success of Southern arms. One quotation will suffice to show the character of these speeches. In June, 1861, he told a big crowd at Washington, Georgia:

[Do not] let anyone timidly doubt of success. The people of the South can never be conquered. Our enemies rely upon their numbers—we rely upon the valor of

⁹ Same to same, Mar. 3, 1861, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Same to same, Apr. 18 and 19, 1861, *ibid.*

freemen, battling for country, for home, and for everything dear as well as sacred. . . . Of all the virtues, none is purer, holier, loftier, or so Godlike as that which prompts a man to offer up himself, his life, his home, and his all as a sacrifice upon his country's altar. . . . The country must be sustained. Every one agrees to this. Our all depends upon it. Constitutional liberty depends upon it. The perpetuation of the grand idea of self-government announced by our sires and grandsires in '76 depends upon it. The hopes of mankind and the world depend upon it.¹¹

Actually these speeches of 1861 were supererogatory. There was no need to kindle the enthusiasm of the Southern masses. Popular morale could scarcely have been more buoyant than it already was. In 1861 all factions were agreed upon the great end desired—Southern independence. And the prospects at first looked so rosy that no truly controversial measures appeared necessary to achieve the end. It was not until 1862 and 1863 that widespread differences of opinion arose about methods and means. And as the terrible possibility of ultimate defeat loomed larger and darker, these controversies grew in magnitude and degree. They sprang from a number of factors—chief among them military defeats, diminishing resources, clashes of personalities, factional rivalries, and an ever-growing conflict between the narrow localism of state rights dogma and the broad federalism of effective centralized wartime controls. It was in 1863 and 1864, when these controversies were becoming truly insidious, that Stephens held it in his power to render distinguished service to the Confederacy. His integrity was unquestionable, and his talents as an orator were renowned, even in an age of oratorical renown. If he had chosen to undertake extensive speaking tours in the critical years of the war, he could have wielded great influence in informing Southern opinion and rallying Southern patriotism. Why did he not do so? The chief clue is to be found in his feeling toward Davis.

Not only were the four months at Montgomery the halcyon days of the Confederate government but they were also the only amicable era in the relationship of the President and the Vice-President. After the government was moved to Richmond, there developed gradually, almost imperceptibly, a coolness between the two. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Stephens' feeling for Davis underwent a slow chilling and stiffening. It was not yet hostile—it was merely passive and forbearing. Only infrequently now did the President send for Stephens to ask his opinions. This may have been the result of inclination, or it may have been accident. For in the five months after March, 1861, Stephens happened to be much absent from the capital—generally with ample reason. In March he went to Savan-

¹¹ *Atlanta Southern Confederacy*, June 12, 1861.

nah in order to persuade the Georgia state convention to ratify the Confederate Constitution. Half of April the Vice-President spent on his mission to Virginia. And most of June and July, 1861, he devoted to canvassing middle Georgia in behalf of the Confederate produce loan. During these absences of the Vice-President, Davis inevitably and understandably turned to others close at hand when he wanted aid or advice. And among those who stayed specially close at hand was Judah Benjamin, successively attorney general, secretary of war, and secretary of state. Occasionally the President would remember to consult Stephens. In November, 1861, for instance, when a commander had to be selected to organize the defenses of the South Atlantic seaboard against a threatened Federal invasion, Davis asked the Vice-President to recommend someone. Stephens suggested Robert E. Lee, and Lee was sent.¹² In November, 1862, Stephens told a friend that whenever he and Davis met, they were "perfectly agreeable." He added, "We meet but seldom, however."¹³ In his driest manner, the Vice-President afterwards remarked, "I was always ready with my advice and cooperation, but they were not often desired."¹⁴ Probably Davis had no intention to snub Stephens. The President was self-centered and was engrossed in an unending and ever more complex series of problems, and he probably just forgot the Vice-President. To forget the Vice-President was a mistake. Stephens was never the man to accept the role of a mere cipher. To have his advice unsought, his talents unappreciated, and his presence at the administration's council table unsolicited—this galled the Vice-President.

Still another kind of influence—and a kind difficult to assess—contributed to Stephens' alienation from Davis: these were the opinions of three men—his friend, Toombs; the redoubtable governor of Georgia, Joseph E. Brown; and the Vice-President's dearly beloved half-brother, Linton Stephens. For the views of this particular trio the Vice-President had profound respect. They probably did more than he himself ever realized to turn him against the President.

Linton Stephens, who had sought and secured a commission as lieutenant colonel in the Fifteenth Georgia Regiment, spent the fall of 1861 in camp at Centreville in northern Virginia complaining constantly and vehemently of the army's administration. In his view nothing was right. For instance, he wrote in petulant anguish to the Vice-President that "the administration of this army is miserable beyond the belief of those who do not see and feel it.

¹² Johnston and Browne, p. 427.

¹³ Richard M. Johnston, *Autobiography* (Washington, 1900), p. 163.

¹⁴ Charles J. Woodbury, "Toombs," *Overland Monthly* (San Francisco, 1868-75, 1883—), 2d Series, VII (February, 1886), 125.

It is useless to go into specifications, for the mass is mountain high and incapable of removal unless Archimedes's lever can be got under it, with the fulcrum which Archimedes could never find."¹⁵ He wailed, "The great misery of my situation (and it is truly a miserable one) is the conviction that my health, and life and liberty are in the hands of men who are incompetent to take care of them."¹⁶ Shedding all this misery and incompetence, Linton resigned his commission in December, 1861, and hurried home to enjoy his cheerful fireside, his library and sideboard, and Christmas with his children. By 1862 he was calling the President "a mean fellow," "a great fool," "a dwarf in statesmanship," and was saying bitterly, "I would as soon undertake to guard the chastity of a whore as to save the consciences of our rulers."¹⁷ Although the Vice-President did not endorse these opinions, significantly he did not rebut them either.

If Linton's course and feelings helped to turn the Vice-President away from the Davis administration, so did those of Toombs. During his five months as secretary of state, Toombs was often restless, dissatisfied, impatient. Davis accepted but few of his suggestions; and in the summer of 1861 Toombs told Stephens, "It will take courage & energy to avert great disaster, & we have far too little of the latter for the crisis."¹⁸ In July he resigned his cabinet post, and Davis reluctantly gave him command of a brigade in northern Virginia. There Toombs was disgusted by what seemed to him the excessive caution, the professional timidity of the West Pointers in authority. To everybody who would listen, he grumbled against his superiors, and before the winter was out he was complaining, "Davis has not capacity for the crisis & I see great troubles ahead."¹⁹ In the spring he was saying: "I fear nothing but a national convention setting him aside will prevent our ruin. If we can get along without total ruin this summer I shall not hesitate to advise the public to that course next winter. Davis every day more and more exhibits his want of capacity and his inability to see it."²⁰

Another gentleman who shared these views was Joseph E. Brown. Stephens had liked and respected him since their first meeting in 1857, when Brown was making his first campaign for governor of Georgia. The Davis administration was not a month old before the governor was fighting it—

¹⁵ Linton Stephens to A. H. Stephens, Nov. 7, 1861, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

¹⁶ Same to same, Nov. 22, 1861, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Same to same, June 30, 1862, Aug. 22, 1862, and Sept. 1, 1862, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Toombs to A. H. Stephens, June 8, 1861, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

¹⁹ Toombs to George W. Crawford, Feb. 20, 1862, Toombs Papers, Library of Congress; in same vein, Toombs to A. H. Stephens, Mar. 24, 1862, and May 17, 1862, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

²⁰ Toombs to Linton Stephens, May 19, 1862, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

and in doing so, was giving credence to the suspicion that the Montgomery Congress had made a great mistake in not electing *him* President. The governor always professed intense loyalty to the Confederate cause. Yet he seldom allowed an opportunity for criticizing, harassing, or obstructing the Davis administration to pass him by. He made it his policy to guard jealously every sovereign right of Georgia, to supervise Georgia's defenses himself, to develop Georgia's foundries for her protection, to raise great war funds for Georgia's sole use, to enlist and maintain state troops (which he fondly called "the Georgia regular army"), to "prevent the Confederate tax-gatherers from making their appearance" on Georgia soil, and generally to promote the Confederate cause by flouting the Confederate government as often as possible. In 1861, for instance, the governor told his legislature that the Confederate military acts of May, 1861, were unconstitutional and dangerous. They conferred upon the President "an imperial power" which would "enable him to trample under foot all restraints and make his will the supreme law of the land." To say that Davis himself would not abuse his powers was wholly inadmissible, declared the governor. The important task was "to safeguard effectually against usurpation at its first appearance" and to prevent any man's making "the presidency a stepping stone for the gratification of his unholy ambition."²¹ During the progress of his bickerings with the Davis administration, the governor always kept his friends, the Stephens brothers, and particularly the Vice-President, informed of his actions and views.

During most of 1862, the Vice-President divided his time about equally between Richmond and his home in Georgia. In neither place did he at first show signs of fright over two measures that later became the targets of his most uncompromising attacks—the Confederate conscription law and the act authorizing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Both measures were passed by the first Congress of the permanent government—a Congress that he called "a weak and contemptible body."²² The act of February 27, 1862, authorizing the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus was designed to permit the government to arrest and hold without trial Federal spies, Southern unionists and traitors, and any other persons suspected of being dangerous to Confederate security. If Stephens, presiding in the Senate, so much as lifted his finger to delay the passage of this law or uttered a word of warning against its wickedness, he left no record of such opposition.

²¹ Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia* (6 vols., Atlanta, 1909-11), II, 85, 88.

²² Johnston, *Autobiography*, p. 161.

Nor did he display any greater alertness or energy in raising objections to that other important measure of 1862, which he afterwards discovered to be so heinous, the general Conscription Act. It was upon the urgent recommendations of Generals Lee and Joseph E. Johnston that Davis asked Congress in March to pass a draft law. The week after the President's message, Stephens left Richmond for a four-months' visit to Georgia; and he was, therefore, not even present to offer a warning word or a restraining hand against the passage of the law. Yet soon after it was on the statute books, he was grumbling privately to friends in Georgia against its folly. "The Conscription Act was very bad policy," he said. "We should have called for volunteers for the war, and [there can be] no doubt they would have come."²³

Although admitting to his friends his dislike for administration policy in the summer of 1862, the Vice-President did not yet care to come out openly in opposition. Much in the manner of Calhoun in 1828-29, he cogitated, watched events with a somber eye, and prepared arguments. In September, 1862, he wrote a letter signed "GEORGIA" to the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, in which he set down at length his objections to conscription.²⁴ He argued that it dampened the ardor of the people by casting doubts upon their patriotism. The law thus impaired "the most promising element of success—the sense of fighting to maintain not only national independence but personal liberty." He took the position in 1862—and persistently clung to it down to 1865—that there was no need for conscription. He contended that Davis and his generals were misrepresenting the situation when they said that the armies could not get enough volunteers. He implied that the President, for reasons dark and sinister, did not want volunteers. For conscription placed the organization of the army in the hands of an administration that was manifesting growing signs of a hunger for power. Let Congress repeal the conscription laws, he urged; that would banish from the minds of the people their fears of a military tyranny. Then they would volunteer in such numbers that the army could not equip them all.

This question speedily developed into one of the thorniest and most controversial in Confederate affairs. To persons less concerned with abstractions and more deeply involved in actualities than Stephens, his assertions sounded like the ripest absurdities. The *Richmond Examiner*, for example, said that it was astounded at the frequency with which this "audacious nonsense and self-stultification" about volunteers was repeated. The *Examiner's* editor, Edward A. Pollard, was about as warm a partisan of President Davis as John

²³ Johnston and Browne, p. 415.

²⁴ *Augusta Constitutionalist*, Sept. 7, 1862.

Milton was of Charles Stuart or as Jean Paul Marat was of Louis XVI. And on this point Pollard wrote in September, 1862:

We are given to understand that it is only necessary to make a call for volunteers at this stage of the war to obtain them. Now, not only do those who utter this sort of stuff know that it is untrue, but they are perfectly aware that every person within the sound of their voices too, knows equally well that it is untrue. . . . Appeals and bounties alike [are] useless, for the time [is] passed when the war [is] understood to be a glorious holiday. . . . It requires something more brazen than brass to enable any man to pretend that three hundred thousand troops can be obtained [now from volunteers].²⁵

It might have been better if the Confederate government had done what Stephens suggested in 1864 ought to have been done—i.e., never to have resorted to conscription at all, and to have told the Southern people honestly that the government meant to abandon the struggle whenever sufficient volunteers ceased to come forward. Had such a course been followed, the war might have ground to a stop and disaster overwhelmed the Confederate armies, in 1862 or 1863. But modern statesmen regard war as something more than a mere jousting game; and Jefferson Davis, having devoted himself unreservedly and single-mindedly to the business of winning Southern independence, meant to use every constitutional means within his power to reach it.

In no way did Davis' enemies—Stephens among them—reveal their ignorance and misunderstanding of the man more strikingly than in their accusations that he habitually overstepped the limitations of the Constitution whenever he found them inconvenient. Davis' stubbornness, his irascibility, his imperiousness, his unbending belief in his own infallibility—all can be admitted. But to accuse him of carelessness about constitutional restraints betrayed a grave ignorance of his character. Like his great mentor, Calhoun, Davis revered the Constitution. But he made the mistake of assuming that his purity of motive would be unquestioningly accepted by the Southern people. It was his rule to ignore assaults upon himself and his policy—and a costly rule it was! The leader of a political cause is inviting disaster who assumes that the people need no additional enlightenment about its aims and methods.

Yet, in the matter of conscription, the President defended the constitutionality of the Confederate law at great length in an exchange of letters provoked by Governor Brown in 1862. Davis upheld conscription under that clause of the Constitution which gave to Congress the power to raise and

²⁵ *Richmond Examiner*, Sept. 12, 1862.

support armies. As the Constitution did not specify just how Congress was to raise armies, Davis argued that Congress itself must devise the mode. To deny to Congress the right to say how it would carry out one of its unquestioned powers would compel it to abandon the power altogether. That was a conclusion so manifestly absurd, said Davis, that the framers of the Constitution could never have contemplated it.²⁶

These arguments only irritated Governor Brown and his friend, the Vice-President. They agreed that the Conscription Act was an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the states. They argued that the Constitution clearly recognized the right of the states to maintain their own militia. Yet, under the operation of the Conscription Act, the Confederacy might take every officer and every man of the state militia. Who, they asked, could believe that a Constitution that was built upon the principle of state sovereignty, provided for the destruction of the state's military arm? If Confederate conscription were valid, said the Vice-President and the Georgia governor, consider what consequences might logically ensue: members of the state legislatures, state judges, all civil officials of the states (the governors excepted) might be drafted into the army. In that way the state governments would be crippled, if not actually annihilated. How could anyone who honestly believed in state rights advocate "a doctrine so monstrous"? Undenially the states might conscript men, but the Confederate government never! The Vice-President declared: "The citizen of the State owes no allegiance to the Confederate States Government . . . and can owe no 'military service' to it except as required by his own State. His allegiance is due to his State."²⁷ There were, concluded Messrs. Stephens and Brown, only two constitutional ways of filling the Confederate army: one was by calls upon the states, the other was by appeals for volunteers.²⁸

If Davis had accepted these arguments as controlling his policy, the Confederate government would have had about as little assured military strength as the government of the Confederation had had during the American Revolution. And such an ineffective government Jefferson Davis had no thought of heading. As Confederate President he had given his loyalty to the South as a whole, and he was ready to sacrifice the supposed interests of any part to the attainment of the independence of the whole. Indeed, Davis' determination to "run the show" himself, his occasional bluntness in letting the politicians know that *he* was master, contributed to his own undoing. Many

²⁶ Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist* (10 vols., Jackson, Miss., 1923), V, 254-62, 292-93.

²⁷ *Augusta Constitutionalist*, Sept. 17, 1862.

²⁸ Candler, ed., *Confederate Records of Georgia*, III, 192-98, 212-21, 251-82, 286-91.

of the very men who had made him President turned against him because, like Stephens, they suspected him of aiming at a dictatorship.

In Stephens' eyes, another measure grew gradually into an even more malignant and ominous genie than conscription. That was the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Unquestionably the law of February 27, 1862—renewed by Congress at Davis' request in October, 1862, and February, 1864, for specified periods—did give to the President vast powers over the liberties of the Confederate people. But unlike Lincoln, Davis made very limited use of the powers he held. In the words of the Judiciary Committee of the Confederate House of Representatives, the President exercised his power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus "with exemplary moderation."²⁹ Instead of proclaiming martial law and suspending the writ in all the border states and along all the South's long seacoasts, he singled out only areas most in danger from enemy attack. Three or four of the President's military subordinates, however, showed no such restraint. They assumed the power to declare martial law themselves, slapped it upon the districts they commanded, and quite naturally evoked widespread ire. In the summer of 1862 one general established martial rule over all of Texas, another over northwestern Arkansas, another over the southern third of Mississippi and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River. The order that especially alarmed the Vice-President, because it affected his beloved Georgia, was one in which Braxton Bragg ordered martial rule over Atlanta. Bragg justified this action on the ground that martial rule in Atlanta was needed to combat espionage, arrest deserters, and secure the safety of railroads, hospitals, and military stores.³⁰ To the President this need was not so clear; and three weeks after Bragg's order, Davis annulled it. Through his adjutant general he sternly forbade any military commander to attempt to exercise such powers without presidential permission.³¹ Before Davis had time to take this step, however, General Bragg from his headquarters in Chattanooga had already appointed the mayor of Atlanta civil governor of the city. The mayor was annoyed at the general's order, and wrote to Ben Hill, Georgia's senior senator in Richmond, asking just what were the duties of a civil governor of a city under martial rule. Hill turned the letter over to Stephens, and the Vice-President immediately seized the opportunity to speak forth against military tyranny. He was well aware that Davis had countermanded the orders of Bragg and

²⁹ *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America* (7 vols., Washington, 1904-1905), V, 374.

³⁰ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (130 vols., Washington, 1880-1901), series I, vol. XVI, part 2, pp. 979-80.

³¹ *Ibid.*, series 4, vol. II, 83.

of the other generals. But, for Stephens, that was not enough: the President ought to have chastised his subordinates openly for their usurpations. Hence it was needful for the Vice-President to kick this dead monster once more—and publicly! In a letter that was published widely over the South, he informed the mayor that such an office as civil governor was “unknown to the law.” He denounced Bragg’s order as “a most palpable usurpation,” and declared that the general “had no more authority for appointing you civil governor of Atlanta than . . . any street-walker in your city [had].” Under the Constitution, said the Vice-President, no power on earth could declare martial law in the Confederacy. The utmost that even Congress could do was to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. He went on to argue that, even when the writ was suspended, no person could be arrested except upon probable cause, supported by oath. When arrested, such a person still had a “right to a speedy and public trial by jury, after indictment.” And for illegal arrest, such a person had a full right to bring suit in the courts for redress.³² All this was equivalent to saying that suspending the writ amounted to nothing at all except withdrawing the privilege of bail. These theories of Stephens’ were directly contrary to historic practice; for, in Britain and America, suspending the writ had always meant that the state could “arrest and imprison a suspected traitor or conspirator of treason and hold him imprisoned with a practical indefiniteness.”³³

In the fall of 1862 Stephens busied himself in Richmond lobbying among his friends in Congress against conscription and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. When Congress ignored his advice and passed bills extending the one and renewing the other, the Vice-President grieved that the Southern people were not sufficiently alarmed about the usurpations of their leaders. Privately he mourned that the members of Congress

are ignorant of principles, lamentably ignorant. You may impress an idea upon their minds, get a full assent, they may seem to see clearly, and upon meeting with some military man who himself has no knowledge upon the subject, he will suggest some imaginary case which knocks all your reasoning out of the weak head which once thought it saw the truth. The imaginary case is easily answered but the whole ground has to be gone over [again] with these children in politicks and statesmanship.³⁴

When Stephens went home from Richmond in October, 1862, he de-

³² A. H. Stephens to James M. Calhoun, Sept. 8, 1862, in Atlanta *Southern Confederacy*, Sept. 28, 1862.

³³ James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (Urbana, 1951), p. 125.

³⁴ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Sept. 7, 1862, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

parted with but little disposition to return to the capital any time soon. And except for two brief visits in 1863, he stayed away from Richmond for more than two years. To his closest friend in the Senate, Thomas J. Semmes of Louisiana, the Vice-President explained that he meant to remain at home, because there was not "the least necessity for my being there [in Richmond] or any public good to be attained by anything I could do or say were I there."³⁵ In a letter that was widely copied by the newspapers, he wrote a Mississippi woman in March, 1863, that "no equal number of people on earth ever had more of the essential elements of war at their command than we have." But he added darkly, "All that is wanting with us . . . is the brains to manage and mould our resources."³⁶

This back-handed slap was the Vice-President's first public aspersion on the ability of the administration. Yet the following month while on a ten-day visit to Richmond, Stephens called at the President's house; and Davis not only gave him a friendly welcome but spent two hours discussing the trend of affairs. This conversation of April, 1863, was the last purely amicable meeting between the President and the Vice-President. It is true that, after that, they had three or four occasions to confer together. But each time their conversation was brief and official, their manners more formal and more restrained, and their demeanor increasingly cool.

In the last two years of the war, three frustrated attempts were made to explore the possibilities of peace, and in each of them Stephens managed to have a finger. The first occurred in the summer of 1863 and grew out of the sad plight of prisoners of war. After long negotiations, the two governments had consented in July, 1862, to a cartel for the exchange or parole of all prisoners. Almost immediately, however, misunderstandings and recriminations arose on both sides, and by May, 1863, the exchange of officers had dried up. Sensing an opportunity here, Stephens wrote to Davis from Georgia in June, 1863, and asked to be allowed to undertake a mission to Washington to discuss the resumption of exchanging prisoners of war. Once in Washington, he hinted, he might be able to accomplish even more: he might bring up the subject of "a general adjustment" and thus drive in an entering wedge for peace. He would like to negotiate, he said, on the basis of the "recognition of the Sovereignty of the States, and the right of each in its Sovereign capacity to determine its own destiny." He added, "The full recognition of this principle covers all that is really involved in the pres-

³⁵ A. H. Stephens to T. J. Semmes, Jan. 4, 1863 [misdated 1862 in original], Semmes Papers, Duke University.

³⁶ A. H. Stephens to a "Lady of Raymond, Mississippi," Mar. 14, 1863, in *Memphis Appeal*, Apr. 4, 1863.

ent issue.”³⁷ Was Stephens so naïve as to believe that Lincoln and Seward would acknowledge any such principle? If not, what was his object? He left it clouded behind cryptic words, but what he had in mind amounted to this: He would engage Lincoln and Seward in a discussion of peace terms which they would probably reject. Suppose they did spurn them—his efforts would not have been wasted. For on his return to Richmond he would prepare a full report of the South’s effort to restore peace and of the Lincoln government’s icy-hearted rejection of the offer. This report and all the correspondence that might accompany it, the Confederate government could give to the newspapers. Thus the full odium of continuing the war could be thrown on the Lincoln administration. In what better or surer way could the Confederacy influence Northern opinion, break down the war spirit, and embarrass the Republican party in Northern elections?

Maybe Davis perceived some of the subtleties implied in Stephens’ proposal; maybe he did not. But peace and the amelioration of the hardships suffered by prisoners of war were goals just as dear to the heart of Davis as to that of Stephens. So the President readily accepted Stephens’ offer, and sent him a telegram bidding him to come to Richmond at once. It was late in June when the Vice-President arrived in the capital, and he immediately learned two things that he had not known when he made his proposal. One was that General Lee and his army had left their quiet position on the banks of the Rappahannock and were moving northward across Maryland and into Pennsylvania. The other was that John C. Pemberton’s army was so tightly besieged at Vicksburg that its surrender was only a matter of days. Stephens at once felt that these two circumstances put his proposed mission under great handicaps, and he told Davis that he doubted strongly whether Lincoln would even receive him. The Vice-President now unfolded all his motives for wishing to go to Washington; and he protested that Lee’s invasion was bound to excite Northern patriotism and unite Northern feeling—effects that were directly contrary to those he had hoped to produce. He, therefore, asked to be excused from carrying out the mission. Davis replied that he thought Lee’s invasion of the North would increase, not diminish, the chances of Stephens’ being received. For the President had high hopes that Lee’s army might deal such severe blows to the North that Lincoln would welcome a chance to enter negotiations. In such a contingency, it would be most convenient to have a Confederate commissioner on the

³⁷ A. H. Stephens to Jefferson Davis, June 12, 1863, original draft in Stephens Papers, Emory University; A. H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1868–70), II, 568–71. Cited hereafter as Stephens, *War between the States*.

ground in Washington. Consequently, the President proposed that Stephens set out at once for Lee's headquarters, so that at an auspicious moment he could go on to Washington under a flag of truce. Stephens still demurred. Davis then suggested that they lay the whole matter before the cabinet, which was to meet that afternoon. When that group heard about the scheme, every member of it emphatically agreed with the President. So Stephens reluctantly yielded.³⁸ Then the President decided to abandon his first idea of having Stephens try to overtake Lee's army; instead, he would send the Vice-President up the Chesapeake on a flag-of-truce boat. So, armed with two letters from Davis to Lincoln, the Vice-President set out down the James River at noon on July 3. He got no farther than Newport News. After waiting there two days, he was turned back. Lincoln and his cabinet, believing that Gettysburg was a more decisive Union victory than it actually was, had concluded not to risk permitting Stephens to come to Washington. They all suspected some foxy motive.³⁹

After that, Stephens went back to Georgia to stay for eighteen months. Having much time to nurse his suspicions, he gradually came to the astounding conclusion that Davis himself had done three things to torpedo the proposed mission to Washington. The first of the three was sending Lee into Pennsylvania. Evidently Stephens felt that the President should have called Lee back to Virginia in the very same hour that he learned of the Vice-President's wish to go to Washington. The second was John Hunt Morgan's famous cavalry raid of early July, 1863, across Indiana and Ohio. Adding suspicions and bad guesses, Stephens concluded that Morgan had been sent across the Ohio and Lee sent into Pennsylvania for the same purpose—i.e., for the purpose of solidifying Northern sentiment and destroying "the 'copperheads' or Peace Party throughout the North." What Stephens did not know—and probably would not have believed even if he had been told—was that Morgan's mad exploit was his own idea and had no sanction whatever from the Confederate authorities. The third of the President's "perfidious" actions was his sending a letter to General Lee informing him of the Vice-President's mission. Davis himself had told Stephens of this letter before the latter left Richmond. When the Vice-President learned later that the courier bearing this dispatch had been captured, he leaped to these amazingly morbid conclusions: that the messenger had been deliberately sent by a route where he would be sure to fall into the hands of the enemy; that Davis had intended that his letter should reach Yankee hands and thus

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 561–66; A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, July 1, 3, and 9, 1863, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

³⁹ Gideon Welles, *Diary* (3 vols., Boston, 1911), I, 358–62.

give the Washington government ample notice to be on its guard; hence Davis had never wanted the mission to succeed in the first place!⁴⁰ Seldom in American history have such feverish fantasies befogged the mind of a supposedly responsible leader!

At home during 1863 and 1864, Stephens joined in a peace intrigue with his brother Linton and with Governor Brown, which grew in force and determination as Grant fought his way to Richmond and Sherman overran Georgia. This movement for peace in Georgia coincided with the sour defeatism of men like Representative William W. Boyce in South Carolina and with the furor that was being whipped up against the Davis administration by William W. Holden in North Carolina. One of the key figures of the Georgia combination was Linton Stephens, who from 1862 to 1865 was the leader of the Joe Brown party in the state House of Representatives. In October, 1863, he told his brother, the Vice-President: "I tell you we are a doomed people. Mr. Davis is *mad*, infatuated. . . . I believe him to be a tyrant and a malicious scoundrel. . . . It seems to me to be a case that calls loudly for a Brutus. . . . How God has afflicted us with a ruler! He is a *little, conceited, hypocritical, snivelling, canting, malicious, ambitious, dogged, knave and fool*."⁴¹ The Vice-President himself declined to descend to such epithets. He was a man who always required himself to be high-minded. In his own view, he was not moved by the same ordinary motives, the same human spites and dislikes, that control other men. Consequently, when he opposed the President, he was bound to place his opposition on the high plane of principle. He rationalized himself into believing that the foremost object of the war on the South's part was the preservation of the great principles of constitutional liberty. In his opinion, Lincoln, like a true tyrant, had trampled these principles under foot from the start, and Davis must never be allowed to do likewise. The preservation of constitutional liberty, the Vice-President declared first in 1862 and ever more insistently thereafter, was more important than winning Southern independence. On this subject he grew ever harder, more resolute, and more ingenious.

Consequently, when the Confederate Congress in January, 1864, took up bills to widen the scope of conscription and to continue the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, Stephens felt deep anguish and alarm. He even wrote the President urging him to veto the bills if Congress should pass them. Both measures, said the Vice-President, "would be exceedingly unwise & impolitic as well as unconstitutional."⁴² In two messages to Congress

⁴⁰ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, June 3, 1864, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

⁴¹ Linton Stephens to A. H. Stephens, Oct., 14, 1863, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

⁴² A. H. Stephens to Davis, Jan. 22, 1864, Stephens Papers, Duke University.

Davis had specifically asked for both these measures and had described the need for them. When he answered Stephens' letter, therefore, he passed over the Vice-President's protest in silence.⁴³ It is probable that Stephens had had to exercise great self-control in writing to the President at all on this matter. For only the day before, he had angrily told a friend that if the bill continuing the suspension of habeas corpus were passed, "constitutional liberty will go down, never again to rise on this continent." He darkly implied that he hoped the people would not submit to the measure, and said wrathfully, "Far better that our country should be overrun by the enemy, our cities sacked and burned, and our land laid desolate, than that the people should thus suffer the citadel of their liberties to be entered and taken by professed friends."⁴⁴

After Congress passed both measures, Governor Brown and the two Stephens brothers proceeded to develop their opposition to the Davis administration by calling a special session of the Georgia legislature. Through letters to each other and at a conference at Linton Stephens' home in Sparta, the three men allotted beforehand the role that each was to take. The governor, in his address to the legislature, was to open the attack. Linton Stephens was to introduce into the House resolutions proposing a plan of peace and denouncing conscription and the suspension of habeas corpus. The Vice-President was to follow with a speech to the two houses fully endorsing these declarations. The plan was carried out with precision. In his address the governor expressed his "deep mortification" at the action of Congress in "attempting to suspend the writ . . . and to confer upon him [the President] powers expressly denied him by the Constitution." This action, said the governor, was all the more reprehensible because it was taken under the false plea of necessity and "at the *request* of the Executive" himself. He invited the legislature to place its most stinging rebuke upon such "bold strides towards military despotism." He descanted upon the necessity of negotiating with the Lincoln government to re-establish the principles of the Declaration of Independence—"the right of self-government and the sovereignty of the States." To him, this meant that every state, North and South, should "determine for herself what shall be her future connection, and who her future allies."⁴⁵ The legislature then set about adopting Linton Stephens' two sets of resolutions. One denounced the suspension of the writ of habeas

⁴³ Davis to A. H. Stephens, Mar. 3, 1864, Stephens Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁴ A. H. Stephens to R. M. Johnston, Jan. 21, 1864, in Johnston and Browne, p. 453.

⁴⁵ Candler, ed., *Confederate Records of Georgia*, II, 610, 617, 618, 626-28, 649-55; *Macon Telegraph*, Mar. 14, 1864.

corpus as "a dangerous assault" upon the Constitution and asserted that "constitutional liberty is the sole object which our people and our noble army have in the present terrible struggle." The other set of resolutions called upon the Davis administration to hold out offers of peace to the North after every Confederate victory and on all other occasions "when none can impute its action to alarm"—all on the condition that the enemy recognize "the great principle [of self-government] declared by our common fathers in 1776."⁴⁶

These resolutions the legislature adopted only after a fierce struggle—and after an address by the Vice-President. This speech was the first that Stephens had made since the autumn of 1862 and was the only one he made during 1864. For three hours he castigated the Davis administration for its mistakes and its encroachments upon the liberty of the citizen. Two thirds of the speech he devoted to the suspension of habeas corpus. He repeated all his familiar arguments on the subject, and added this new fillip: The guarantees contained in what we call the Bill of Rights were, he said, superior to the clause in the Constitution dealing with the suspension of the writ. For the Bill of Rights, having been added as amendments to the Constitution, necessarily overrode any clause in the original document which might conflict with them. Therefore, said he, even if the writ were suspended, the guarantees of the Bill of Rights still stood in full force. All this argument, of course, was based upon the premise that the Confederacy had inherited every nuance, every accretion of the United States Constitution. Actually the Confederate Constitution was drawn up *in toto* in the month of March, 1861, and how one part of it could cancel out or be superior to another part, it is difficult to see. But the essence of sophistry is its close resemblance to logic. And Stephens' trust in his own reasoning led to an almost insane self-righteousness.

To show how the law operated, he read to the legislature letters about harrowing experiences of over-age men who had been forced into the army and had made vain efforts to get hearings in the courts. These perversions of justice the Vice-President pronounced "a most shameful outrage." Declaring that the law gave to the President power to arrest and imprison "every man, woman, and child in the Confederacy," he cried:

Tell me not to put confidence in the President. . . . Tell me not that this act affects none but traitors, spies, and the disloyal. . . . Who is safe under such a law? . . . Could the whole country be more completely under the power and control of one man . . . ? Could dictatorial powers be more complete? . . . the most ill-timed, delusive and dangerous words that can be uttered are, can you not trust the President? . . . Be not misled by this cry, or [by the delusion] that you must not

⁴⁶ Milledgeville *Confederate Union*, Mar. 15 and 22, 1864.

say anything against the Administration, or you will injure the cause. . . . Listen to no such cry. And let no one be influenced by that other cry, of the bad effect such discussion and such action will have upon our gallant citizen soldiers in the field. . . . He most truly and faithfully supports the government who supports and defends the Constitution.⁴⁷

He warned the legislature against two fatal snares that were being spread—trust in a dictator, and “that most insidious enemy which approaches with the syren song, ‘independence first and liberty afterwards!’” In a clumsy paraphrase of Patrick Henry’s historic heroics, he concluded his harangue to the legislature: “As for myself, give me liberty as secured in the constitution with all its guaranties, amongst which is the sovereignty of Georgia—or give me death!”

Even more clearly than in the speech at Milledgeville the Vice-President soon afterwards revealed his antipathy for the President in an exchange of letters with Herschel V. Johnson. Johnson was a close friend, but not a political follower, of the Vice-President. As Georgia’s junior senator, Johnson had pursued an independent course in the Confederate Congress, sometimes supporting the President, sometimes opposing his wishes. When he read Stephens’ speech to the legislature, he was disturbed by its hostility to the administration and particularly by its animosity against Davis. And in a polite, candid letter he told Stephens so. With characteristic loftiness, Stephens answered:

I assure you I feel no more hostility to him than I do to you. . . . My hostility and wrath (and I have enough of it to burst ten thousand bottles) is not against him, . . . but against the thing—the measures and policy which I see is leading us to despotism. . . . You surely have heard me in conversation speak of his weakness and imbecility, but certainly with no bitterness of feeling. . . . I had no more feeling of resentment toward him for these than I had towards the defects and infirmities of my poor old blind and deaf dog.

Nevertheless, in the same letter, the Vice-President slid off his Olympian perch long enough to admit:

my opinions of him [Mr. Davis] . . . are much more akin to suspicion and jealousy than of animosity or hate. . . . [All along] I have regarded him as a man of good intentions, [but] weak and vascillating, timid, petulant, peevish, obstinate, but not firm. . . . [Now at last I have come to] doubt his good intentions. . . . This cry of sustaining the Administration, you will allow me to say, with all due respect to you, is nothing but a stupid, senseless cachination.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Atlanta Intelligencer*, Apr. 2, 1864.

⁴⁸ A. H. Stephens to H. V. Johnson, Apr. 8, 1864, *War of the Rebellion, Official Records*, series 4, vol. III, 278–80.

Johnson tried to awaken Stephens out of his nightmares and to calm his delirious suspicions. He wrote:

You asked me if I still think you are wrong. My dear sir, I *know* you are wrong. You have allowed your antipathy to Davis to mislead your judgment. You will say; No such thing. But you are not the best judge.—You are wrong in view of your official position [as Vice-President]; You are wrong because the whole movement originated in a mad purpose to make war on Davis & Congress:—You are wrong because the movement is joyous to the enemy, and they are already using it in their press. . . . [You are wrong because] it will discourage and dishearten [our soldiers at the front]—how it will unnerve their courage—to learn that the people at home are quarreling and opposing, in a spirit of bitterness, the action of the government intended at least to strengthen their arms! It must result in disaster; it can do nothing else. It will wind up the revolution in disgrace & subjugation.⁴⁹

The Vice-President, however, was beyond the reach of such pleas. He watched with gratification while Governor Brown used state funds and private contributions to broadcast over the Confederacy printed copies of his message to the legislature, Linton Stephens' resolutions, and the Vice-President's speech. Stephens felt a sense of personal triumph when the North Carolina and Mississippi legislatures passed resolutions similar to those of Georgia. He ignored the caustic suggestions that appeared in Southern newspapers calling on him to resign his office if he could not accept the policies of the President and Congress. The Lynchburg *Virginian*, for instance, said that Stephens would do well to follow the example of Calhoun, who had resigned the vice-presidency rather than go along with Andrew Jackson's force bill and proclamation to South Carolina.⁵⁰ Stephens' admirers retorted that another vice-president, Thomas Jefferson, had differed not a little from his chief, John Adams; and *he* had not felt it *his* duty to resign. One of Stephens' foremost defenders, the Augusta *Constitutionalist*, haughtily declared, "Mr. Stephens will probably say what he pleases and not resign to do it, and were a precedent needed, he is great enough to establish it himself."⁵¹

Before the end of 1864, this deliberate fostering of an anti-Davis spirit had schooled a large fraction of the Southern people to hold the President responsible for their sufferings. The idea that he was a despot, that at any moment he might spring some sort of *coup d'état*, came to infect thousands of Southern minds. The Montgomery *Mail* illustrated that feeling when it

⁴⁹ H. V. Johnson to A. H. Stephens, Mar. 19 and Apr. 6, 1864, in Percy S. Flippin, *Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia* (Richmond, 1931), pp. 253–54.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel*, May 14, 1864.

⁵¹ May 20, 1864.

said: "Every step we have taken during the past four years has been in the direction of military despotism. Half our laws are unconstitutional."⁵²

What did Jefferson Davis think of the sniping fire that was encouraged, if not directed, by his Vice-President? With an equanimity that was rare with him, he maintained an unruffled poise on this matter and said nothing publicly and very little privately. To one caller he acknowledged guardedly that he was sorry that Stephens had made his address to the Georgia legislature. The President added that he did not question the Vice-President's patriotism, but he did wish some way could be found to persuade him to abandon fault-finding in favor of harmony and co-operation.⁵³

Fault-finding, however, remained Stephens' avocation to the end. Like Othello, he allowed his suspicions to feed upon even the most innocent incidents. In March, 1864, for instance, he received an unusual letter from a Yankee prisoner at Andersonville named David F. Cable. Cable explained that he was an Ohio lawyer, that he was well acquainted with Clement Vallandigham and many leading Democrats in the Northwest and New York, and that they had made him their agent to establish contact with the peace men in the South. For that purpose, he had joined a New Hampshire infantry regiment "as a non-combatant and clerk," had been sent to Florida, and, after the fighting at Ocean Pond, had managed to be captured. Now he wanted an interview with the Vice-President. Would Mr. Stephens take steps to get him paroled so that they might confer together? His letter closed with this hypnotizing appeal: "Our last hope of preserving Constitutional liberty upon the American continent lies in the success of the Democratic nominee for the Presidency next fall, and to accomplish that success we are exerting all our energies. The people of the South can aid us—will they do it?"⁵⁴

The possibilities opened by this letter almost entranced Stephens. He swallowed every syllable of it, and wrote immediately to Davis, explaining why he wanted to talk with Cable, stressing the importance of Southern aid to Northern Democrats in 1864, and asking that Cable be paroled at once and sent to Crawfordville.⁵⁵ Davis suspected a hoax and told Stephens so.⁵⁶ Nevertheless he ordered General Bragg to have a staff officer make an investigation of Cable's claims. Bragg's order was sent to a colonel at Charleston,

⁵² Jan. 5, 1865.

⁵³ H. V. Johnson to A. H. Stephens, May 30, 1864, Stephens Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ Cable to A. H. Stephens, Feb. 28, 1864, *ibid.*; also Cable to Stephens, Mar. 20, 1864, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

⁵⁵ Stephens to Jefferson Davis, Apr. 9, 1864, Georgia Portfolio, Duke University.

⁵⁶ Davis to A. H. Stephens, Apr. 19, 1864, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

but the letter was lost en route in the mails, probably as a result of a Yankee cavalry raid.⁵⁷ So four weeks went by without further word. In May Stephens wrote to the colonel commanding at the Andersonville prison asking what had become of Cable. The colonel's answer said there was no prospect of Cable's early release. So Stephens concluded that the man had been questioned and had proved unable to satisfy the investigating officer.⁵⁸

In July, however, the Vice-President was dumfounded to get another letter from Cable, this time reproachful and beseeching, and revealing that no one had ever questioned him at all. Cable wrote: "When I turned my course South I had no doubt whatever that I should find openhearted friends and all due encouragement; but on the contrary I have been rigidly treated as a prisoner of war . . . and have become from those causes and attendant mental anxiety so much reduced that I have no hopes of surviving in my present position very long. . . . At all events do not allow me to perish here for my family's sake."⁵⁹ Stephens was touched—and indignant. Immediately he wrote Davis again.⁶⁰ This time the President had his secretary of war send an investigator to Andersonville.⁶¹ But when the officer arrived, he found Cable dead. Stephens was incensed when he learned these facts. He felt that he, the second officer of the government, "had been trifled with and lied to," that "there had been gross dereliction of duty somewhere," and that Cable had been deliberately left "to lie & die & rot in prison." He fumed: "The conduct of the President in relation to this man Cable has really outraged my feelings. It has caused me to believe . . . that he does not want the war to end until he is absolute military Ruler." "Since his inauguration his every act is consistent with the course of a weak timid sly unprincipled arch aspirant after absolute power by usurpation '*a la mode*' Louis Napoleon. He has kept men about him all the time who have openly & publicly advocated a dictatorship." And he "has been doing all *intentionally* I think he could to reelect Lincoln."⁶² Could Stephens ever have guessed that, of all man's gifts, few are so powerful as the imagination and that the worst, most obstinate of all grievances are the imagined ones?

All through the summer of 1864 Stephens kept an expectant and hopeful eye on Northern Democrats. That summer was marked by countless rumors

⁵⁷ Endorsement of Col. John B. Sale, dated July 20, 1864, upon letter of A. H. Stephens to Davis of July 5, 1864, Autograph Letters of Signers of the Confederate States Constitution, Duke University.

⁵⁸ A. H. Stephens to Davis, May 7, 1864, Stephens Papers, Duke University.

⁵⁹ Cable to A. H. Stephens, June 21, 1864, copy in Davis Papers, Duke University.

⁶⁰ A. H. Stephens to Davis, July 5, 1864, identified in note 57 above.

⁶¹ James A. Seddon to A. H. Stephens, July 19, 1864, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

⁶² A. H. Stephens to R. M. Johnston, Aug. 26, 1864, Stephens Papers, Library of Congress; also A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, June 3, 1864, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

of peace movements, and Stephens believed that Georgia had started them all.⁶³ He was much cheered by the peace plank that Northern Democrats wrote into their platform at Chicago in August. He ignored the fact that General McClellan, the Democratic nominee, virtually disavowed the peace plank in his letter of acceptance. Late in August Stephens said hopefully that "if our officials and military make no blunders and only hold our own for ten weeks . . . Lincoln may be beaten, a Peace man elected in his stead . . . and with that result sooner or later Peace will come."⁶⁴ He held tenaciously to the belief that Northern Democrats intended, if elected, to attempt to restore the Union by negotiation and by offering all sorts of new guarantees to the Southern states. When these all failed, as they were certain to do, then Northern Democrats would reluctantly accept peace by recognizing Confederate independence. Believing all this, Stephens felt that the Confederate government ought to do everything possible to promote McClellan's election.⁶⁵ To this idea Jefferson Davis was indifferent, not to say cold: he considered it impolitic and unbecoming in the President of the Confederacy to endeavor to influence the course of a foreign election. Had Davis been less honest or more cunning, he might conceivably have disrupted Northern party politics completely in August, 1864, by offering negotiations or asking for a peace conference on any terms. But he still believed his cause invincible. To an amateur diplomatist from the North, the President declared inflexibly: "Say to Mr. Lincoln from me, that I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals for peace on the basis of our Independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other."⁶⁶

If the Confederate President was loath to express views on Northern party politics, the Vice-President was not. In a public letter in September, 1864, he called the action of the Democrats at Chicago "the first ray of real light I have seen from the North since the war began"; and he welcomed the idea, proposed by Northern Democrats, of a general convention of all the states to discuss terms of peace.⁶⁷ He was sure that such a convention would end the war and secure the independence of the South.

Stephens wrote this letter at a time when he and Governor Brown were

⁶³ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Aug. 29, 1864, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

⁶⁴ Same to same, Aug. 28, 1864, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ A. H. Stephens to H. V. Johnson, Sept. 5, 1864, copy in Stephens Papers, Library of Congress; A. H. Stephens to Henry W. Hilliard, Sept. 12, 1864, copy in Stephens Papers, Emory University.

⁶⁶ Robert McElroy, *Jefferson Davis, the Unreal and the Real* (2 vols., New York, 1937), II, 414.

⁶⁷ A. H. Stephens to Isaac Scott, *et al.*, Sept. 22, 1864, in *Atlanta Intelligencer*, Oct. 4, 1864; *Wilmington Journal*, Oct. 8, 1864.

dallying with an invitation from General Sherman for a conference at Atlanta, where the general hoped, with Lincoln's approval, to persuade them to withdraw Georgia from the war and make a separate peace. The two Georgia leaders were tempted by the invitation, but for reasons of prudence they finally rejected it as impractical. Stephens took the occasion, however, to record his view that if Georgia believed that her self-interest would be served by making a separate peace and leaving the Confederacy, she would be perfectly justified in withdrawing; and she would commit no breach of faith with her sisters in doing so.⁶⁸ This from a man who professed to have no guide but principle!

It was no wonder, then, that President Davis felt obliged to make a hurried trip to the Southeast late in September, 1864, to steel the hearts of the people against surrendering. It was his only speech-making trip of the war. At Columbia, Augusta, Macon, and Montgomery, he tried to rally the courage of the people in speeches filled with defiance and determination. In his speech at Columbia the President tried to show how utterly impractical was the idea of ever arriving at peace terms in a convention of thirty-six states; and he declared his conviction that the surest way to secure the election of a peace candidate in the North in November was by a few resounding Confederate victories beforehand. And he promised that those victories could be achieved if every absentee and every man who ought to bear arms went promptly to take his place in the army!⁶⁹

Almost as if in answer to this speech, Stephens published a long letter to Senator Semmes, implying that Davis preferred to have Lincoln elected over McClellan and actually wanted the war continued. The Vice-President wrote:

I look upon the election of McClellan as a matter of vast importance to us in every possible view of the case. . . . If the proper line of policy had been pursued by our authorities . . . , I believe the State Rights party [at the North] would have been triumphant at the approaching election. . . . But the policy of our authorities seems to me . . . to have been directed with a view to weaken, cripple and annihilate that party. So far from acting even upon the policy of dividing the enemy, their object seems to have been to unite and inflame them. . . . many persons amongst us [seem to] prefer Lincoln to McClellan. Perhaps the President belongs to that class. Judging from his acts I should think that he did.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Oct. 15, 1864, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

⁶⁹ Columbia *South Carolinian*, Oct. 5, 1864; Macon *Telegraph and Confederate*, Oct. 8, 1864.

⁷⁰ A. H. Stephens to T. J. Semmes, Nov. 5, 1864, in Augusta *Constitutionalist*, Nov. 16, 1864. Original in Semmes Papers, Duke University.

This public accusation stung Davis. But he kept his temper under control as he wrote Stephens, "I am quite at a loss to imagine the basis of your conclusion, and have therefore to ask to what acts of mine you refer."⁷¹ This letter was mailed to Georgia. Before Stephens received it, however, he was once again in Richmond, for the first time since July, 1863. Soon after his arrival, he called at the President's house, solely to let Davis know that he was back in the capital. He rang the bell three times and, when he got no answer, left in a huff; he was positive that the President was at home and had instructed the servants not to answer his ring.⁷² Therefore, when Davis' letter asking just how he had demonstrated a preference for Lincoln finally arrived, the Vice-President did not even consider calling at the executive mansion to discuss the matter. Instead, he wrote a stiff twenty-six-page reply, in which he poured out fully his grievances and suspicions in the case of the prisoner Cable and laid great stress upon his own interpretations of the President's speech at Columbia.⁷³

Davis' twelve-page reply was calm. He reminded the Vice-President that the commanding officer at the Andersonville prison had himself written to Stephens describing Cable as too "dangerous" a man to be allowed to go at large. How was it possible, asked Davis, that a logical mind could deduce a preference for Lincoln over McClellan from the detention and death of a Yankee prisoner on July 16, "six weeks before McClellan was nominated as a candidate, six weeks before the platform of the Chicago convention was framed, six weeks before anybody knew what candidate it would select or what principles it would announce"? As for his speech at Columbia, Davis cleared himself by showing that he had repeatedly denounced Lincoln in it, had made no mention of McClellan, and had intimated his desire for the success of Northern Democrats in these words: "Let fresh victories crown our arms, and the peace party (if there be such) at the North can then elect its candidates." Davis closed with this pointed thrust:

I am aware that I was unfortunate enough to incur your disapproval of my policy. I should not, however, have departed from my rule of bearing all animadversion in silence and leaving my defence to the future, if it had not seemed to me that a publication by the Vice President intended quite plainly to disparage me and to inspire distrust of me among the people, was calculated to do public injury. . . . I have felt much reluctance in calling your attention to the subject, . . . [and] I assure you that it would be to me a source of the sincerest pleasure to see you devoting your great and admitted ability exclusively to upholding the

⁷¹ Davis to A. H. Stephens, Nov. 21, 1864, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

⁷² A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Jan. 7, 1865, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College; Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis*, VIII, 213.

⁷³ A. H. Stephens to Davis, Dec. 13, 1864, Davis Papers, Emory University.

confidence and animating the spirit of the people to unconquerable resistance against their foes.⁷⁴

Of course Stephens answered. He had a womanish propensity for having the last word. His 10,000-word reply is one of the curios of the Confederacy. In it he flailed afresh all the straw that had already been so violently threshed out. He charged Davis with having dodged his obligation to tell the full truth in his reply, and with having been "disingenuous, equivocal, and sophistical." If, said the Vice-President, anybody had drawn unfounded or unjust inferences from Davis' words and actions, the President had only himself to blame!⁷⁵

Here Davis very properly dropped the quarrel. There was no point in arguing further with a dogmatist who enjoyed a monopoly upon wisdom and right. About this time, i.e., in January, 1865, one of the commonest topics of conversation among members of Congress and others in Richmond was the urgent necessity of taking control of the army away from Davis and even of putting someone else in his place as President. Davis, of course, knew about this talk; and more than once he told James Lyons, a representative from Mississippi, that "he would resign immediately if Mr. Stephens would—but he could never surrender the government to one who would immediately surrender it to the enemy, as he was sure Mr. Stephens would."⁷⁶

The Vice-President had one final volley to fire against Davis—this time in a speech in the Confederate Senate. In August, 1864, the last suspension of the writ of habeas corpus had expired, and the friends of Davis in Congress began a long struggle to have it suspended again. They nearly succeeded at the end of 1864: the House passed the bill, and in the Senate the vote was ten-ten. As presiding officer of the Senate, Stephens of course had the right to break the tie. But before casting the deciding vote, he announced his intention to make a speech and give his reasons. This was more than the Senate could bear: Gustavus Henry from Tennessee challenged his right to speak, and the Senate voted for a parliamentary maneuver which denied him the floor.⁷⁷ The Vice-President considered this action a gross insult and stalked from the chamber fully intending to resign. But he cooled off and abandoned his intention when the Senate, at a subsequent session, placated him by inviting him to speak.⁷⁸ His speech was a two-hour indictment of all

⁷⁴ Davis to A. H. Stephens, Jan. 6, 1865, Stephens Papers, Emory University.

⁷⁵ A. H. Stephens to Davis, Jan. 25, 1865, draft copy in *ibid.*

⁷⁶ Lyons to W. T. Walthall, June 10, 1878, in Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis*, VIII, 213.

⁷⁷ *Journal of the Confederate States Congress*, IV, 385-87.

⁷⁸ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Dec. 23, 1864 and Jan. 6, 1865, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

the mistakes of the administration. He proclaimed that it was still not too late to save the cause. How? By abandoning conscription, impressment, and all other despotic measures and by fighting a war for "constitutional liberty"! Even yet, he insisted, peace could be arranged with the North, on the basis of this eternal principle! He told the Senate that unless the government was "kept on this line the people would soon take no interest in the result and would as soon live under one despotism as another."⁷⁹ Here surely was a man who lived by abstractions: it was pathetic for him, and tragic for his countrymen, that he sought to make his business the direction of the affairs of a nation at war.

Stephens would probably have gone home to Georgia in January, 1865, if he had not been curious to learn the outcome of Francis Preston Blair's secretive comings and goings, supposedly as confidant of Abraham Lincoln, between Washington and Richmond. To Stephens' genuine surprise, President Davis sent for him on January 27, saying he wished to consult him on special and important business. The President disclosed that Blair had brought word of Lincoln's willingness to treat for peace. Stephens responded that Davis himself ought at once to go to meet Lincoln. Davis objected that he could not leave Richmond and said he had already made up his mind to appoint three commissioners. Stephens promptly suggested three prominent Confederates, and Davis seemed receptive to their names.⁸⁰ The next day, however, Stephens learned that *he* was to be one of the three. He protested, and made excuses—all in vain. Davis explained that when he had consulted his cabinet about who should be sent, they had declared with one voice that Stephens should be one of the three.⁸¹ It was too good an opportunity to shut the Vice-President up diplomatically. And the President decided to allow the Vice-President to discover for himself how impossible of success negotiation was.

The other two commissioners proved to be Senator R. M. T. Hunter and the assistant secretary of war, John A. Campbell. These three were instructed to meet whomever Lincoln might appoint "for informal conference . . . for the purpose of securing peace to the two countries."⁸² It turned out that the United States commissioners were Lincoln and Seward. On

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Stephens, *War between the States*, II, 587-88.

⁸⁰ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Jan. 27, 1865, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

⁸¹ A. H. Stephens to Davis, Jan. 28, 1865, Georgia Portfolio, Duke University; A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Jan. 28, 1865, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College; A. H. Stephens to William H. Hidell, Jan. 29, 1865, Stephens Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Stephens, *War between the States*, II, 594-95.

⁸² Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis*, VI, 476.

February 3, 1865, these five met on board the steamer *River Queen* off Fortress Monroe in Hampton Roads. For four hours they talked with no interruption other than that of a Negro servant who occasionally came in to bring refreshments. Stephens still clung to his infatuated idea that Lincoln had not meant what he had been saying about the nature of the Union and the object of the war ever since 1861. On the part of the Confederacy, Stephens proposed "an armistice allowing the States to adjust themselves as suited their interests. If it would be to their interests to reunite, they would do so."⁸³ Lincoln, of course, would not hear to this proposal. He was liberal in all else, but he would consent to nothing less than Union, emancipation, and no armistice. On his side, President Davis had made it clear beforehand that he would accept nothing less than complete independence. This conference was the last attempt to negotiate for peace.

On his return to Richmond, the Vice-President was reported to have told friends that he was not surprised at the failure of the mission—that he knew before he started out that it would fail.⁸⁴ He was angry that Davis had maneuvered him into a position of sharing responsibility for the failure. Three days after the conference, Davis made his last oration as President. Snow lay thick on the ground in Richmond as he addressed a great crowd in the precincts of the African Church. Like a fanatic in a trance, he talked passionately and swept his audience along into his own mood. "Let us then unite our hands and our hearts," he said, "lock our shields together, and we may well believe that before another summer solstice falls upon us, it will be the enemy that will be asking us for conferences and occasions in which to make known our demands."⁸⁵ Stephens was present and heard the speech, and he conceded that it was one of the most brilliant oratorical displays he had ever witnessed; but he added, "brilliant though it was, I looked upon it as not much short of dementation."⁸⁶ Davis had asked Stephens to join in the demonstration. But the Vice-President refused. The President then asked what Stephens intended to do. "Go home and stay there," answered the Vice-President.⁸⁷ When he departed, the Richmond papers announced that he was returning to Georgia "to canvass the State for a vigorous prosecution of the war."⁸⁸ Actually he had not the slightest idea of making any speeches anywhere. Once more back at home, he said: "I did my best to get the Presi-

⁸³ Stephens, *War between the States*, II, 604.

⁸⁴ *Savannah Herald*, Apr. 6, 1865.

⁸⁵ *Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 7, 1865.

⁸⁶ A. H. Stephens, *Prison Diary*, June 21, 1865, p. 132, MS in Emory University Library.

⁸⁷ Stephens, *War between the States*, II, 625.

⁸⁸ *Richmond Examiner*, Feb. 8, 1865; *Milledgeville Southern Recorder*, Feb. 14, 1865.

dent to adopt what I think was the right line. That he would not adopt. His line will fail I think. . . . If the ships control were in the hands of the Ga. authorities it would be different."⁸⁹ To the end he blamed everything on Davis.

And Davis? Did he censure Stephens? On the contrary, he said nothing. Four days before the President abandoned Richmond, he came as close to recrimination as he ever permitted himself, when he wrote these discouraged words to a friend:

Faction has done much to cloud our prospects and impair my power to serve the country. That such was not their purpose I am well assured, and . . . [I hope the time may soon come] when they [may] see that the indulgence of evil passion against myself injures not the individual only but the cause also. . . . Whether truth can overtake falsehood has always been doubtful, and in this case the race is most unequal.⁹⁰

The last meeting of Messrs. Stephens and Davis took place in May, 1865, when by chance they found each other prisoners of war on board a steamer bound from Augusta down the Savannah River to Hilton Head. Understandably they had little to say to each other, and that little was commonplace.⁹¹ When they parted at Hampton Roads six days later, Davis was destined for a wracking two-years' imprisonment at Fortress Monroe. Stephens was sent on to confinement at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor—and, after a four-months' sojourn there, was to be set free. The two men never saw each other again, and doubtless neither ever felt a wish to. If Davis ever expressed an opinion of Stephens in the twenty-five years that he lived after the war, he seems to have left it unrecorded. Stephens, however, showed no reticence in putting to paper his estimate of the President. For example, while the memory of events was still keen, he wrote in his diary in 1865:

The disasters attending the conflict are chargeable . . . to the men in authority . . . and to no one is it more duly attributable than to Mr. Davis himself. He proved himself deficient in developing and directing the resources of the country, in finance and in diplomacy, as well as in military affairs. . . . the truth is in point of ability he is not above a third class man in his own section if he be entitled justly to a rank so high as that.⁹²

From this opinion Stephens never retreated. From 1866 to 1869 he spent

⁸⁹ A. H. Stephens to Linton Stephens, Feb. 18, 1865, Stephens Papers, Manhattanville College.

⁹⁰ Davis to Mrs. Howell Cobb, Mar. 30, 1865, in Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb* (Washington, 1913), pp. 661-62.

⁹¹ Stephens, Prison Diary, May 14-20, 1865, pp. 6-16.

⁹² *Ibid.*, July 13, 1865, pp. 41-43.

his retirement in writing a two-volume work that he called *A Constitutional View of the Late War between the States*. In it he took great pains to show why the South failed. Not least among the reasons was the folly, the perverseness of the Confederate government in rejecting his own ideas. An elementary truth that he never fully understood was that no nation can fight a successful war against a formidable foe when it is torn by internal quarrels. To him, centralized power was hateful. But he never realized that a government that lacks power in wartime is foredoomed to diffusion of effort, demoralization, and probable defeat. Down to January, 1865, he expected—or at least he professed to believe—that somehow the Confederacy was finally going to win through to victory. Then he, Alexander Hamilton Stephens, would stand forth the peerless champion of liberty in the Southland, the protector of the Constitution against the plots of military schemers, the savior of the rights of the citizen. He was unable to understand that the Confederacy was fighting, not for some abstraction, but first and foremost for the right to exist. And he never grasped the possibility that Jefferson Davis also might love liberty under the Constitution. Indeed, Davis demonstrated his constant regard for liberty by the moderation and self-control with which he wielded the powers that he held. The *London Times* said truly in 1865 that one of the causes of Confederate failure was the reluctance of the President “to assume at any risk the dictatorial powers . . . which are alone adapted to the successful management of revolutions.”⁹³ Davis gave ample evidence of loving liberty more clearly and intelligently than Stephens did. For Stephens loved it with the blindness of a bigot. Even in times of profoundest security, liberty cannot be absolute. And in times of great emergency such as war, unless liberty can accept modest curbs, it may perish. This truth never penetrated the mind of the second officer of a cause which perished.

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⁹³ Quoted in *Macon Telegraph*, May 19, 1865.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of Saint Gilles

JOHN HUGH HILL and LAURITA L. HILL

ALEXIUS Comnenus, Byzantine emperor, had difficulty in reaching an understanding with Raymond of Saint Gilles, leader of the Provençals in the First Crusade. After several days of negotiations, April 22, 1097, to April 26, 1097, the two came to an agreement which assured co-operation between them.¹ Unfortunately, only a few lines from contemporaries inform us of the proceedings.² Upon his arrival in Constantinople Raymond was quartered in the faubourgs and on April 22 was received by Alexius, who demanded that he take an oath of homage and fidelity as had the other chieftains of the First Crusade. The count of Saint Gilles refused but promised that he would place his army under the command of Alexius if he would lead it to Jerusalem. The emperor excused himself from such a commitment, and in the meantime news of a skirmish between the Provençals and imperials caused a break in the conversations. Finally, on April 26, after some heated exchanges of messages, Raymond agreed to a convention with Alexius. Raymond d'Aguilers, chaplain of the count of Toulouse, states that the Provençal leader refused to pay homage, but, "*Alexio vitam et honorem iuravit, quod nec per se, nec per alium ei auferret.*" The *Gesta* states, "*Alexio vitam et honorem iuravit, quod nec per se nec per alium ei auferre consentiat.*"³

Contemporary historians pass to other events and furnish later but few remarks concerning the agreement. The passage of time has created a traditional translation of this convention which Steven Runciman has recently confirmed in his statement that "Raymond agreed to swear a modified oath, promising to respect the life and honour of the Emperor and to see that

¹ John Hugh Hill, "Raymond of Saint Gilles in Urban's Plan of Greek and Latin Friendship," *Speculum*, XXVI (April, 1951), 266-68.

² For a discussion of the oath see Ralph B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1917), p. 44; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Eng., 1951), I, 162-64.

³ Raimundus de Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux* (Paris, 1866; hereafter cited as R.H.C.Oc.), III, 238; Louis Bréhier, ed. and trans., *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade* (Paris, 1924), p. 32.

nothing was done, by himself or by his men, that would be to his hurt."⁴

Unfortunately, life and honor suggest no pact of a contractual nature to modern readers. This fact is well established by numerous interpretations which have been given the commitment of Raymond of Saint Gilles to Alexius. Bréhier states that Raymond had fewer obligations to the emperor than any of the other leaders.⁵ Chalandon and many of his followers maintain that Raymond's support of the emperor's cause developed later.⁶ Grousset asserts that Raymond was the only baron who refused to the last to subscribe to the Franco-Byzantine pact, and later was the only one to claim strict application of it.⁷ Runciman writes in discussing the dissensions concerning Antioch that Raymond reminded "the assembly of the oath to the Emperor that all except himself had sworn."⁸

In contrast, the brevity of the account does not bring confusion to the minds of the twelfth-century historians, who understood Raymond's support of the emperor.⁹ The suggestion is that "*vitam*" and "*honorem*," out of context in the chronicles, carried for them a connotation lost to us. To recapture this connotation we have brought together the scattered terms with which the agreement is described. These are terms which also occur in legal documents of Languedoc.¹⁰ We have sought to clarify these terms of the chroni-

⁴ Runciman, p. 163.

⁵ Bréhier, p. 169, n. 6.

⁶ Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118)* (Paris, 1900), pp. 187-88, 207.

⁷ René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1934), I, 120.

⁸ Runciman, pp. 249, 258; Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* (Heidelberg, 1890), p. 175. Hagenmeyer states that Raymond agreed not to undertake anything against "*das Leben und die Ehre des Kaisers . . .*"; August C. Krey, *The First Crusade* (Princeton, 1921), p. 13. Professor Krey, in translating accounts of the First Crusade, has called attention to the fact that expressions of the time are not necessarily the standard idiom of today.

⁹ The *Gesta* reports the position of the count of Saint Gilles with consistency. The staunch opposition of Raymond to Bohemond's claims to Antioch is explained on the grounds of respect to his obligations to Alexius. Raymond was amenable to the judgment of his peers "*salva fidelitate imperatoris*." However, the *Gesta* explains that Raymond had not taken an oath of homage, "*cumque de hominio appellaretur, non se pro capitis periculo id facturum respondit*." The *Gesta* recognized that the oath of Raymond, while it did not involve "*hominium*" as did the oaths of the others, still obliged him to respect the possessions of the emperor lest he perjure himself (*Gesta*, pp. 32, 168-70); Raymond d'Aguilers (pp. 238, 267) likewise agrees; Robert the Monk in explaining Raymond's opposition to Bohemond's claim to Antioch states, "*Comes Sancti Aegidii dicebat id non posse fieri propter sacramenta quae per Boamundum fecerant Constantinopolitano imperatori*" (Robertus Monachus, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in R.H.C. Oc., III, 843); Tudebode added "*terram*" to the oath, "*quod nec per se nec per alium ei terram auferret*" (Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, in R.H.C. Oc., III, 22).

¹⁰ Runciman, pp. 163-64. Runciman recognizes only the form (see n. 8 above) of the oath when he says, "This type of oath was not unusual for vassals to take in southern France." He does not point out that this oath was also used among the nobles to protect property rights without involving the element of vassalage, nor does he see in this oath Raymond's commit-

clers by returning them to their context, using as a vehicle the legal documents to which Raymond had subscribed in the past, or forms which were current in Languedoc. For comparative study we have set this material up in parallel as follows:

Gesta and
Raymond d'Aguilers

Raymond's previous conventions in the
Midi, or similar conventions of the
time

Comes . . . Alexio

vitam

et

honorem

De ista hora in antea, ego Raimundus
comes . . . non dezebrei [accusative of
person] . . . de sua vita, neque de
suis membris que in corpus suum se
tenent. . . .¹¹

Et de ista hora in antea, ego jam-
scriptus . . . non dezebrei te . . .
jamscriptum de omni honore tuo, sci-
licet de tuo alodio, neque de tuo feodo,
neque de tuo toto honore quem hodie
habes & in antea habebis & acquisieris
per meum consilium. . . .¹²

ment to Alexius regarding his possessions. The element of vassalage, if it occurs, is stated in the positive, "*fidelis ero tibi . . . sicut homo debet esse fidelis ad seniore suum, cui manibus propriis se commendavit, per directam fidem sine enganno. . . .*" *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. Dom. CL. Devic and Dom. J. Vaissete (Toulouse, 1875), V, 694. As Raymond refused "*hominium*" we would expect the "*fidelis ero*" clause to be omitted and his commitments to Alexius to occur in the negative, following the pattern of contemporary commitments in southern France—"non dezebrei . . . non tolrei . . . nec per se . . . auferret." This is particularly true in view of the fact that the summaries of Raymond d'Aguilers and the *Gesta* suggest a negative form. That the words "*vitam et honorem*" are traditional in the making of oaths is further suggested by the oath which Otto the Great swore to Pope John XII, 962, "*et numquam vitam aut membra neque ipsum honorem quem nunc habes et per me habiturus eris, mea voluntate aut meo consensu aut meo consilio aut exortatione perdes*" (MGH, *Legum*, II, 29). Dietrich Schäfer, "Honor, citra, cis im Mittelalterlichen Latein," in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1921), p. 376, believes that "*honor*" here denotes possession. In 1183 we find, "*Nec ero in facto, quod perdant vitam vel membra vel honorem*" (MGH, *Legum*, II, 166).

¹¹ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 536. This oath of Raymond, ca. 1066, to the archbishop Guifred is one of several documents in which he undertook to support the archbishop and to make others respect his claims. He also grants the archbishop "*ad feuvum*" the third part of what he receives "*per placitum*" in Narbonne. The oath is described as follows: "*Raimond promet avec serment à Guifred de le laisser paisible possesseur de tout le domaine de son archevêché & de l'aider contre tous ceux qui s'y opposeroient*" (III, 352-53). There is nothing in these documents to suggest "*hominium*" on Raymond's part. The lords of the Midi commonly made such agreements with each other to protect their property. These conventions did not put them in vassalage (III, 282).

¹² *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 694. This oath, ca. 1084, to Aymeri I by one named Roger is chosen because of its explanation of the term "*honor*." In Raymond's oath, cited above, the possessions are specified immediately, "*non dezebrei . . . neque de ipsa sede . . . neque de ipsa turre . . . neque de ipsas fortizias. . . .*" In this same oath (V, 537), the phrase occurs, "*sine lucro de suo avere & de suo honore*." The "*fidelis ero*" clause present in Roger's oath does not occur in Raymond's pledge to Guifred.

Raymond's nec
civitatem, nec
castellum¹³

Gesta's quod nec
per se nec per alium
ei auferre consentiat

Raymond's ei auferret

Gesta's pro fiducia¹⁹
reddemus²¹

dominicam crucem
et spineam coronam
et super multa alia
sancta²³
iuravit

Nec tuas civitates, nec tuos castellos
. . . quae hodie habes & in antea cum
meo consilio acquirere potueris

non las te tolrei, ni t'en tolrei . . .¹⁴
ne l'en decebrei, nec ego, nec homo,
nec homines, nec foemina nec foeminas
per meum consilium neque per meum
ingenium¹⁵ neque per meum consenti-
mentum.¹⁶ Et si homo est . . . vel
homines qui hec omnia aut de hiis om-
nibus qui tollat vel tollant ad predictum
. . . ego Raimundus supradictus finem
nec societatem non habebo cum ipsis ad
dampnum predicti . . .¹⁷ & adjutor erit
. . . ad hos retinendos honores contra illos
qui ei auferrent . . .¹⁸ per fidem & sine
enganno²⁰ utque recuperatum habeat
. . . illud castellum . . . & si . . . potuerit
recuperare ipsum castellum in potestate
. . . lo redra sine inganno & sine de-
ceptione & sine lucro.²²

Sicut superius scriptum est, si o tenrei
& o atendrei ego Raimundus supra-
scriptus ad te . . . suprascriptum sine
tuo inganno per hec sancta Evangelia,
me sciente. . .²⁴

¹³ Raymond d'Aguilers, p. 267. "*At comes, et alii econtra dicebant 'Imperatori iuravimus super dominicam crucem, et spineam coronam et super multa alia sancta, quia nec civitatem, nec castellum de omnibus pertinentibus ad imperium ejus retineremus sine ejus voluntate. . .'*"

¹⁴ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 565, 566. Holdings described in oaths and conventions are frequently referred to later in the documents as aforesaid honors, "*honor*" occurring either in the singular or the plural. For this use of the term see description of tenures (V, *passim*, also III, 300), "*l'honneur (c'est à dire des biens)*." For contemporary use of "*honor*" below the Pyrenees see Francisco M. Rosell, ed., *Liber Feudorum Maior* (Barcelona, 1945), I, 130, 193 (*omnem meum honorem, scilicet, castrum de Melan et castrum de Castilione cum illorum terminis et pertinenciis omnibus*), 194, and I and II *passim*.

¹⁵ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 427. Oath (not of vassalage) of William of Carcassonne to Bérenger, viscount of Narbonne, III, 282.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 566.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 537. See n. 11 above.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 584. This passage occurs in Raymond's accord with the archbishop of Arles, ca. 1070.

¹⁹ *Gesta*, p. 178. "*Nequiverunt concordare cum Raimundo Boamundum, nisi Raimundus comes redderet Antiochiam ei. Noluit comes ad hoc assentire, pro fiducia quam fecerat imperatori.*" There is no reason to believe that the *Gesta* refers here to technical fidelity as associated with "*hominium*," that is, "*fidelis ero sicut homo debet esse. . .*" The *Gesta* has stated that Raymond refused "*hominium*." Elsewhere in the *Gesta* "*fiducia*" seems to represent a pledge (p. 180). "*Cum fiducia*" (pp. 196, 197) is translated by Bréhier "*en toute confiance*."

²⁰ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 624. Raymond here agreed to protect William of Montpellier and his possessions, ca. 1076.

²¹ The presence of the "*reddemus*" element in the oath is suggested by its occurrence in what Bréhier refers to as the "*texte précis*" of the agreement with Bohemond before the fall

From the scattered legal terms of the *Gesta* and Raymond d'Aguilers we have reconstructed a convention in common usage for guaranteeing property rights among the lords of the Midi.²⁵ These conventions are so similar in form and content that but few words would be necessary to describe their meaning to a twelfth-century reader. For example, the word "honor" was understood by the author of an eleventh-century legal tract, *Exceptiones Petri*, when he stated "*possessionem meam quam in Galliae partibus appellamus honorem*."²⁶ Inasmuch as the terms are not so understood by moderns, we must rely upon cross-analysis of contractual forms.

Thus we find the count of Toulouse making a convention with Alexius and confirming it by oath. This convention, a form which in some of its component parts may well antedate feudalism,²⁷ agreed not only to respect the possessions of the emperor but to give no aid, counsel, or agreement to anyone who would not respect his possessions. Furthermore, it called for aid concerning honors retained by such persons. This aid would be given faithfully and without trickery, and if such honors could be regained they would be returned to the dominion of the emperor without trickery, deception, or profit.

With twelfth-century writers we can now understand that Raymond's oath to the emperor, regardless of its exact form, had for him as strong a meaning as the oaths taken by the other leaders and that he would therefore feel under obligation to fulfill it. Alexius could well afford to be satisfied with this agreement, and Raymond could afford to subscribe to it. Like his forebears, he would bind himself according to the customs of Languedoc. Such a convention would safeguard Alexius in his present possessions and in those to be regained. Such a pact would not put the count of Toulouse

of Antioch, "*ut, si imperator venerit nobis in adiutorium . . . nos ei eam jure reddemus*" (*Gesta*, pp. 102-103). See also "*redderet*" in passage from *Gesta*, n. 19 above. Raymond d'Aguilers also suggests its presence with "*nec . . . retineremus*" (n. 13 above).

²² *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 439. Oath of Pons of Toulouse ca. 1040.

²³ See n. 13 above.

²⁴ *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, V, 537-38, and see n. 11 above.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 282, 352-53 and see n. 11 above. The existence of such reciprocal agreements between nobles of earlier times is cited in the thirteenth-century *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. and trans. by Samuel P. Scott (New York, 1931), p. 1371.

²⁶ *Petri Exceptiones Legum Romanorum* in Friedrich Carl von Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1816); II, 325. "Honor" in this usage is fully attested in such works as Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort, 1885), IV, 228, 229; Oscar Bloch and W. von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1932), I, 368; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e-XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1885), IV, 491; Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939), p. 297.

²⁷ Paul Vinogradoff, *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 32, 35.

into vassalage. Such a document could be sworn to upon the holy relics without injuring Raymond's standing as an independent count and without prejudice to his Lord for whom he had left his country never to return.

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* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General History

AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By *W. H. Walsh*, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Philosophy. [Hutchinson's University Library, Philosophy Series.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1951. Pp. 173. Trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.)

THIS small volume, written with the graceful lucidity that marks so much British popularization of technical subjects, is by far the best brief treatment in English of recent discussion of "the logic of historical thinking." Although written primarily for philosophers, not for historians, it should be in the hands of all students of history interested in reflection on the problems of their discipline. Mr. Walsh divides such concern into "critical" and "speculative" philosophy of history. The former is "a critical inquiry into the character of historical thinking, an analysis of some of the procedures of the historian, and a comparison of them with those followed in other disciplines, the natural sciences in particular." As such, it is a branch of the theory of knowledge. The latter is an attempt to interpret the actual course of events to discover in history as a whole a "meaning" or special kind of intelligibility. As such, it is a branch of metaphysics.

Though three quarters of his book is occupied with the critical philosophy, Mr. Walsh defends the speculative philosophy as a perennial human interest. The classic enterprises of Kant, Herder, Hegel, and Comte, he points out, were attempts to find history "intelligible" in its pattern and in pointing to a goal that could be morally approved. They were moral justifications of history, efforts at theodicy; and such efforts will persist so long as evil is taken to be a metaphysical problem. Mr. Walsh does not consider metaphysics a useless activity "carried on by knaves and fools." But he finds speculative philosophy of history "utterly wrong-headed" as "an attempt to comprehend history from outside," and of no relevance to working historians, though its practitioners had many incidental and salutary effects on historical studies. Though Marx clearly belongs with this group, his economic determinism is a hypothesis for interpreting empirical situations that may well be justified if working historians find it in fact a fruitful procedure. Whatever its promise, Toynbee's comparative study of civilizations is not the autonomous discipline of "history"; and Mr. Walsh is very skeptical of its predictive value.

In the major portion of the book, the critical philosophy of history, Mr. Walsh reflects the influence of the idealist Collingwood, whose ideas he opposes throughout to those of the positivists, best represented today by Karl Popper. His own

position is a cautious synthesis of the two, though he confesses to having on the whole "sympathy with the idealist rather than the positivist view." He manages to make Collingwood's curiously limited conceptions and the reasons behind them much clearer than does Collingwood's own *Idea of History*. Yet the most characteristic of these conceptions he rejects: that all history is the history of "thought," that we grasp and understand the thought of past persons in a single act of intuitive insight, and that in this process we employ no scientific generalizations or laws.

The restricting influence of Collingwood appears most clearly in the problems of historical knowledge Mr. Walsh elects to discuss. (1) On the relation of history to other forms of knowledge, he concludes that it has "features peculiar to itself, though it is not so different from natural science or even common sense as some [the idealists] would have us believe." (2) On the nature of explanation in history, having rejected Collingwood's "rethinking of past thoughts," he points in the historian's procedure to "colligation," the explaining of an event by tracing its intrinsic relations to other events and locating it in its historical context; and to interpreting human action in the light of our knowledge of human nature, drawn partly from psychology but more from the imaginative experience and insight the historian shares with the literary genius. (3) On historical truth and fact, Mr. Walsh attempts a synthesis between the correspondence theory of truth, with its certain and "incorrigible" facts, and the coherence theory, with its renouncing of certainty. (4) On historical objectivity, he states sympathetically a perspective position, on which the historian can hope to interpret the evidence quite objectively relative to his own point of view. But he hopes for "the ultimate attainment of a single historical point of view, a set of presuppositions which all historians might be prepared to accept . . . the development of an historical 'consciousness in general,' a standard way of thinking about the subject matter of history." But this would necessitate agreement on metaphysical and moral ideas, and although Mr. Walsh thinks this problem not insoluble in principle, he is under no illusion as to the difficulties of attaining it in practice. For the present, we must put up with a plurality of perspectives on the past.

Columbia University

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

PEACE IN THEIR TIME: THE ORIGINS OF THE KELLOGG-BRIAND PACT. By *Robert H. Ferrell*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, LV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. Pp. x, 293. \$4.00.)

BASED on research in the National Archives, various collections of personal manuscripts (including Assistant Secretary of State William R. Castle's "detailed diary"), and secondary materials, this volume concludes with the judgment that the Kellogg-Briand Pact "was the peculiar result of some very shrewd diplomacy

and some very unsophisticated popular enthusiasm for peace." As described on the jacket by Yale University Press authorities, Ferrell's book is a study in "appearances and reality"; and certainly the author does make much use of the word "sophisticated," both in its positive and negative connotation, to describe those associated with the origin, development, and ratification of the pact.

The sophisticates, argues the author, were those (almost exclusively, in his view, members of the Department of State) who realized that Briand's proposal of April 6, 1927, for France and the United States to outlaw war between them "was naught but a negative military alliance." This suggestion was clearly unacceptable to Washington, as Ferrell shows, because the policy makers did not desire to have their freedom of action circumscribed in any sense. Thus the "appallingly naive" advocates for peace, who in their "immature American idealism" helped reinforce "public ignorance," created a "serious problem in the conduct of American diplomacy." Yet through such maneuvers as "studied silence" and "ingenious inaction" Washington evaded the "unwanted negotiations for a bilateral antiwar treaty." Instead, the State Department turned M. Briand's proposal into a multilateral plan which forestalled the necessity to assume any responsibility or make any commitment. "We have done what we set out to do," observed Assistant Secretary Castle. "We have made a big, peaceful gesture. . . ."

As indicated by this quotation, the excerpts from Castle's diary offer the reader suggestive leads into the history of the twenties. Thus, for example, Castle's view (in the summer of 1928) that "we could change the whole sentiment of Latin America toward the United States by getting other nations to cooperate with us in our police measures. We have stood for moderation in China and we can be careful not to suspect and offend the Japanese." Indeed, one reason for keen regret concerning the volume is Ferrell's failure to provide more material from Castle's diary.

Despite such sources, however, the reader would do well to use J. E. Stoner's earlier study, *S. O. Levinson and the Pact of Paris*, in conjunction with Ferrell's volume. For Stoner is more accurate when he points out that the question of American-Soviet relations overshadowed the issue of outlawry for both Senator Borah and Raymond Robins. Though these men supported Levinson's campaign, neither viewed it as other than a substitute for rapprochement between Washington and Moscow. This is but one of several considerations which suggest, perhaps, that the neat characterization of Borah as merely negative and isolationist is both inaccurate and misleading.

For certainly Ferrell offers no evidence that the State Department either had or developed a positive alternative to Briand's concept of a negative military alliance. His review of the diplomats' search for peace (chapter iv) is most explicit on this point; as is the subsequent development of Washington's frantic search for a way out. Yet Ferrell concludes that the American public was "appallingly

naive" and voices his hope that the people have become "truly sophisticated."

But if the twin policies of unilateral intervention and evasion of responsibility, so clearly displayed by the State Department in the twenties, are to be considered sophisticated, then it may well be wise to retain a modicum of Borah's insurgency. For the diplomats certainly shared with "public ignorance" the responsibility for the debacle of American policy between the wars. In return for granting Ferrell's request for "unwavering support to a realistic American foreign policy" the demand for such a policy does not seem either naive or unsophisticated.

University of Oregon

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS

THE STRUGGLE FOR EUROPE. By *Chester Wilmot*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. 766. \$5.00.)

THE author of this remarkable book is an Australian war correspondent who was attached to the British army, attended the Nuremberg trials, and spent six years digging out the facts for this one-volume history. The jacket of the publishers states that this is the first real history of the European war "based on all available evidence" from all belligerents, in fact the first book that shows how the war was fought on both sides "on all fronts." Moreover this is "the only objective one-volume history of the European war" and the first account that explains why Hitler let the British escape at Dunkirk, why he decided to invade Russia, and why Stalin won "his greatest victory" at Yalta. So convinced are the publishers of the value of this best seller, that they praise it "as one of the most lucid, readable and dramatic accounts of any war."

Not to be outdone by any publisher, Mr. Wilmot, a trained historian, states in his preface that he has endeavored to show what caused (1) the destruction of the balance of power in Europe, which Britain went to war to maintain; (2) the success of Stalin in obtaining from Roosevelt and Churchill what he failed to obtain from Hitler; (3) the subsequent overthrow of Hitler, and Stalin's emergence as the great Continental victor. These three questions are then followed by five military and five diplomatic theses. The book is divided into three parts: "The Way Back," "The Battle of Normandy," and "The Road to Berlin." A conclusion shows that in Russia's triumph there was an element of the inevitable and ends with Paine's words: "Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered." A scholarly note on sources, tables of the high commands, and an excellent index are appended to the text.

The author starts his history with the military situation on the eve of Dunkirk and claims to give the first account of why Hitler let the British escape. His story of the nine days of fighting over and around Dunkirk is obscure, his conclusions not quite convincing, but he makes a case for the effectiveness of British propaganda. Mr. E. T. Williams apparently did not inform him that in

the period between Dunkirk and the American embargo German military publications reached this country via Vladivostock. A definitive military monograph on Dunkirk, "based on all available evidence," has not yet been published.

In his discussions of the political strategy of the war, the author contrasts the realistic policy of Churchill with the idealistic efforts of Roosevelt. Especially critical is his account of the President's unconditional surrender formula which Wilmot asserts prolonged the war and delivered the control of Eastern and part of Central Europe to the Soviets. He attempts to expose the myth that the primary reason for the formula was to prevent Hitler from signing a separate peace with Russia or as it is more naively stated to break up the Allied coalition. He asserts that unconditional surrender was both "illogical and dangerous" and that no consideration was given to the effect of the demand upon German resistance, morale, and propaganda.

The author finds the American naval and military commanders even more incomprehensible than their commander in chief. Admiral King, Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur, Bradley, and Wedemeyer are critically evaluated and their alleged shortcomings, either in command experience or leadership, are presented in detail. The author does state that in promoting Eisenhower, "the most successful commander of allied forces in the history of war," Marshall showed remarkable judgment. Yet Montgomery remains the author's military hero; he is defended in the chapter on the great argument by passionate special pleading and with considerable emotion.

Wilmot has written a remarkably lucid, at times estimable, and always colorful account of the European war from the battle of Normandy to Hitler's final collapse. The military history is written frankly from the British point of view with many barbed references to the alleged personal foibles and military mistakes of the American commanders. Amazing is the author's simulated ignorance of and contempt for the Pacific war. Among his debatable theses are that the frustration of the German invasion of Britain "drove Hitler into attacking Russia," that for various erroneous reasons the over-all strategy of the Western powers "had been diverted away from the area of Soviet aspirations," that the failure to exploit fully the greatest single victory of the Anglo-American alliance had disastrous military and political results, that General Eisenhower "unwittingly aided" the German recovery by his reluctance to agree "to concentrate the bulk of his logistical resources" behind Field-Marshal Montgomery's plan for a single thrust at the Ruhr, and that the real issue at Yalta was not what Stalin would or could have taken "but what Roosevelt gave him the right to take in, to quote the President, 'a more stable political Europe than ever before.'"

The diplomatic discussions at this historic conference, states Wilmot, resulted in Stalin's greatest victory. Roosevelt and the reluctant Churchill disposed of affairs in the war-torn world without referring to anyone but their personal advisers. Wilmot supports his victory thesis with citations from Hopkins, Elliott

Roosevelt, Hull, Harold Macmillan, Stettinius, Leahy, Deane, and Byrnes. He paints with a broad brush the fantastic murals of Roosevelt's menace of colonialism as well as the gift of "the moral cloak" by Roosevelt and Churchill to Stalin, the moral cloak for Stalin's aggressive designs in Asia and practically a legal title enforceable at the peace conference "to the territories and privileges which he demanded." It may be noted that important facts about Yalta are still being revealed by participants and authorized writers while other facts have leaked out, but that an objective account of the American executive agreement signed at Yalta and the roles of the chiefs of state, policy makers, and technical experts has not yet been published.

Wilmot concludes that the two most serious miscalculations of the entire war were Hitler's underestimate of Russia's military strength and Roosevelt's miscalculation of Russia's political ambition. "A third mistake might well be fatal to Western Civilization."

Stanford University

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ

THE MIDDLE EAST IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By *George Lenczowski*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1952. Pp. xx, 459. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Lenczowski has written a very useful book, if not a notable one. Students of the political and diplomatic complexities of the Near and Middle East will find his volume a handy and serviceable book of reference, the more so because there is no book comparable to it available in this country. It is crammed with facts about treaties, political parties, changes of government, and like matters. The data are well organized and clearly presented, and consequently readily available. For the general reader, however, it is overloaded with facts, the names of lesser political personalities, and obscure place names. To readers unacquainted with the area the book fails to provide that type of information which is essential to an understanding of the peoples of the Near and Middle East and of their major problems. The lack of adequate topographical and regional maps is to be regretted as the eight small sketch maps are of little use to anyone unfamiliar with the geography of the area.

In the assembling, organization, and presentation of factual material and in his bibliographical footnotes, Professor Lenczowski has done a masterly job. It has been an exacting one accomplished in a thoroughly scholarly manner. Although there are some minor errors they are of a trivial nature.

The volume is divided into five parts. The first, which contains an introductory chapter with brief historic sketches of the Ottoman and Persian empires up to 1914, serves to orient the reader. The other two chapters deal with World War I and the peace settlement. Part Two, "The Northern Belt," contains separate chapters on Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan which deal with internal politics

and foreign affairs of these three countries from 1918 to 1951. They give competent accounts in considerable detail of main events. The assessment of "Turkey's new democracy" seems somewhat optimistic and the conclusions somewhat colored by the role Turkey now plays in the "cold war" as the West's bastion in the Near East.

Part Three, "The Fertile Crescent," has chapters on Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan. Professor Lenczowski handles the Arab-Jewish problem with discriminating detachment on which he may well be congratulated. Part Four, "West and East of the Red Sea," has separate chapters on Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen. These are useful with respect to providing data concerning political events and international relationships but do not deal very thoroughly with basic problems.

Part Five, "Problems of War and Peace," consists of four chapters—a very brief one on World War II in the Middle East, a chapter devoted to the Turkish Straits and the Suez Canal as strategic waterways, an informative chapter on the Arab League, and a final chapter concerning the policies and activities in the Near and Middle East, of Great Britain, Russia, and the United States. Although at times critical of British policies in the area, the author appears to have a sympathetic attitude toward Britain's imperial requirements, while, although he points out in some passages Russia's strategic interests in the Near and Middle East, he seems less sympathetic to Russia's needs in the area. In view of the conflict between the "West" and the "East" these attitudes are understandable, if not fully objective.

Mention should be made of the appendix tables: I. Area and Population; II. Major Petroleum Concessions; III. Oil Reserves and Production; IV. Oil and Total Government Revenues; V. Imports and Exports; VI. Population Growth of Palestine; VII. Population of Israel. Many of these data are not easily available elsewhere, and those interested in the field will be grateful to the author for including them here.

University of New Hampshire

WILLIAM YALE

FLOUR FOR MAN'S BREAD: A HISTORY OF MILLING. By *John Storck* and *Walter Dorwin Teague*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1952. Pp. vi, 382. \$7.50.)

In 1945 General Mills hoped to establish near its Minneapolis offices a museum of the history of milling. Scarcities of materials and money, so it is explained, prevented the realization of the plan; instead this volume embodies the illustrations and designs prepared by Walter Teague, the industrial designer, and a historical text written by Dr. John Storck. One obvious hazard beset both the original project and the book which has substituted for it. All too easily a mil-

lennial narrative, commencing in the mists of Asian antiquity and culminating on the upper Mississippi, would produce the impression that the millennium of flour milling had arrived in the United States and more specifically in the Washburn enterprises of which General Mills is the authentic business heir. On the whole this danger has been successfully avoided. As is their right the authors have excluded a treatment of milling in the Orient and in most of Africa. Their story, from prehistory to the present, is one of flour in the Near East, the Mediterranean basin, western Europe, and North America. In modern times they are quite willing recognize that there were other innovators and pioneers than the Washburns and their associates.

In the preparation of their volume Teague and Storck have levied upon a cluster of sciences and subject matters: geology, biology, archaeology, anthropology, engineering, mathematics, technology, economics, and many varieties of history. Such virtuosity is a prerequisite for a book treating among other things man's diet in relation to the ice age; the evolution of the human skull as well as of wheat and corn; methods of tilling the soil; wind, water, and steam mills; cookery and the business organization of flour milling. All too often those who write of so much over so long a time fall into a sort of cosmic style, reminiscent of the music in the perisphere at the New York World's Fair. Messrs. Teague and Storck do not entirely escape "dawn man" at one extreme and plugs for democracy and competitive enterprise with a public service function at the other. Luckily such deviations from straightforwardness and common sense are at a minimum. Less easily avoided is the tendency to claim too much; to ascribe significant advances in mathematics and general manufacturing and the invention of the steam shovel to the search for man's bread. Excesses of this sort—and errors—are also at a minimum. On the contrary the ingenuity and the imagination with which the theme of flour milling is interrelated with the history of mankind is an author's triumph.

For this is a beautiful and fascinating volume. The exposition, whether dealing with the complexities of a situation or of a modern flour mill, is always lucid. The multitude of illustrations from Assyrian bas-reliefs to Oliver Evans, the diagrams, maps, and plans of mills and machinery are so arranged in the text that they can be used conveniently with it and are displayed not only with clarity but with genuine artistic skill. The student of technology, as well as other readers, will get from these pages not only information but excitement.

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

THE JAMESON RAID. By *Jean van der Poel*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 271. \$5.00.)

ON several counts this careful monograph is the most satisfactory treatment of the Jameson Raid that has appeared to date. For one thing, it is the fullest

accurate account of the spectacular filibuster whose main outlines are of course well known but whose details have been blanketed in the same obscurity as the peculiar roles of key figures at the Cape and in London. This is an exciting story and the author tells it crisply and with a feeling for its dramatic overtones. More importantly, she has produced a formidable array of evidence to support her conclusions with regard to some of the more intriguing—and hitherto unanswered—questions concerning the Raid.

In particular, Miss van der Poel has made excellent use of the private papers of Sir Graham Bower and Sir James Rose Innes, recently made available at the South African Public Library. They add authority to her analysis of the dual problem of the extent of Joseph Chamberlain's complicity and of the judgments, based upon his use of Chamberlain's private papers, reached by J. L. Garvin in his imposing biography of the one-time colonial secretary. Her findings confirm the suspicions entertained by others who have examined the materials printed by Garvin and who have gone into the Colonial Office documents opened for study in 1948. Actually, other data help to complete the picture. In addition to the papers so well employed by Miss van der Poel, certain significant materials among Chamberlain's papers have also been finally revealed. Miss Ethel Drus was permitted to use them and her assessment of the documents relating to the Jameson Raid and the inquiry which followed has been printed in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (May, 1952). While the volume being reviewed was in press before the evidence from the Chamberlain papers was published, Miss Drus's excellent discussion has only reinforced the conclusions reached independently by Miss van der Poel. It now seems irrefutable that Chamberlain was well aware of the plan for a rising in Johannesburg backed by an invasion from the outside, that he encouraged the plot, and that Garvin, whether deliberately or not, distorted the evidence to bring in a verdict of not guilty. Other reputations come under Miss van der Poel's surveillance as well. The somewhat pathetic insistence of Sir Hercules Robinson that he knew nothing of the plot rings hollow against the sounding board of her damaging revelations, while the silence of Sir Graham Bower, who bore much of the obloquy that should have been visited on his superiors, appears as the deliberate self-sacrifice of a loyal, if not too clever, official. On the whole, the author makes her way confidently through these tangled questions of responsibility and her conclusions carry considerable conviction.

Rather less satisfactory is the discussion of the motives of various leaders, from both parties, who made the inquiry of 1897 very nearly a disgraceful sham. Her speculations as to these motives are in part conjectural and while the reviewer tends to agree with her suggestions, others may find them too much of a series of informed guesses to be accepted as definitive. It is probably also necessary to note the blunt simplicity of the argument, made by Miss van der Poel in her final chapter and proclaimed on the dust jacket, that the aftermath of the Raid

was that "South Africa was hastened into premature union instead of maturing slowly and naturally into a federation." The assumptions underlying this pronouncement might well be challenged. But there is so much here in the way of solid, thorough analysis based on expertly marshaled evidence that perhaps she may be permitted a few such sweeping generalizations, particularly by a reviewer who knows the South African scene far less intimately than she.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

Ancient and Medieval History

HOROI: STUDIES IN MORTGAGE, REAL SECURITY, AND LAND TENURE IN ANCIENT ATHENS. By *John V. A. Fine*. [The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia*, Supplement IX.] (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1951. Pp. viii, 216, plates. \$7.50.)

STUDIES IN LAND AND CREDIT IN ANCIENT ATHENS, 500-200 B.C.: THE HOROS-INSCRIPTIONS. By *Moses I. Finley*. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 332. \$3.50.)

THE study of ancient Greek economic life has advanced considerably in recent years, especially in the epigraphical field, where there is a great mass of material. No detailed synthesis for the classical period, comparable to Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, can be attempted hereafter without taking account of the contribution made in studies such as the present.

The authors of the two books under review, working independently, have published the Greek texts of all extant Athenian mortgage stones, and have drawn conclusions about the procedures concerning land and credit. Finley views his study as the first of several to be concerned with business practices in the Greek cities. He brings to his work a thorough acquaintance with ancient and modern law. Fine's point of departure was a purely epigraphical task, the publication of newly discovered mortgage stones from the Athenian Agora. In the first four chapters of Finley's book and the first seven of Fine's, the development of the study of *horos*-inscriptions and the mortgage contract is exactly parallel. The difference in length is due to the fact that Fine examines the theories of all predecessors in minute detail.

In the eighth and concluding chapter of Fine's book, an important theory is ably advanced, that in the Athenian system of land tenure land was inalienable, i.e., it could not be conveyed out of the hands of the family. Thus a mortgage was impossible. This principle of inalienability was given up in the Peloponnesian War, conjecturally as a result of the many confiscations by the government. The

last four chapters of Finley's book are concerned with a detailed study of the nature of the properties mortgaged, the parties to the contract, both creditors and debtors, individuals and groups, and finally multiple creditors in transactions which correspond somewhat to the modern second mortgage. It is these concluding chapters which make Finley's book the broader survey of Athenian practice with regard to land and credit.

Both authors cover the whole range of literary and epigraphical documents. They agree that *horoi*, or mortgage stones, were not an official record of mortgages but served the purpose of informing all interested parties that there was a charge on the property: they believe that in a hypothec contract the debtor remained in possession of the security, and in this respect they are both critical of Paoli's work which was coming to be regarded as the standard reference in the field.

They differ, however, in their interpretation of the transaction involved in the most common form of Athenian security, the contract known as *prasis epi lysei*. They differ (Fine, pp. 53-54; Finley, pp. 177-81), too, with regard to Ferguson's conclusion, supported more recently by Dow and Travis, that Demetrius in 316/5 B.C. promulgated a code concerning transactions in real estate.

Fine has published, with photographs, thirty-five hitherto unpublished mortgage stones, thirty-three of which were discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. These are probably the most difficult of all ancient inscriptions to read because they were usually cut on an undressed surface. For the ancients they were made legible by the addition of paint. Fine, working in Princeton, has had to rely on data supplied to him in letters which in many cases comprised simply informal suggestions, not meant to bear the heavy weight of print. More can undoubtedly be done in Athens with several of the texts. I note that in number 17 Fine was misinformed about lines 4 and 5. These two lines were worked down with a toothed chisel, whereas the rest of the stone was not. It seems impossible to explain these lines except as an erasure, and line 4 was probably erased twice. The reading of an epsilon is incorrect. I suggest that line 4 had contained a *nomen* and line 5 a demotic. In line 6, however, the stone was correctly read in Athens and Fine's iota, which he adds on the evidence of his photograph, is a shadow. The word must be regarded as an abbreviation; the original stone probably ended with the lambda.

Both books are full of valuable material and acute comment; they should set a new direction for the study of ancient Greek economic history.

University of California

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

MARSILIUS OF PADUA: THE DEFENDER OF PEACE. Volume I,
MARSILIUS OF PADUA AND MEDIEVAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

By Alan Gewirth, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago. [Columbia University, Records of Civilization, XLVI.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 342. \$4.75.)

In this book one learns that Marsiglio was a revolutionary innovator. He believed in the sovereignty of the people, or of the *valentior pars* of them (numerical majority). His thought was purely secular: the state exists of itself for the common welfare and peace, needing no divine sanction; legislation, by the people, is a matter of expediency, unlimited by a higher law; the state is superior to and includes the church and the priesthood; and the several states of Christendom should control the church and the papacy through representation in the general council.

These conclusions are presented with great learning, particularly in the field of Aristotelianism and scholastic theology. But erudition can lead astray—as it does in this work both because of a pompous verbiage and because of a lack of understanding of the political and legal environment of the age. As to the first, Marsiglio's emphasis on human volition becomes "biological determinism" or "biological necessity," his politics "behavioristic" as against the "predominant internalism of the antecedent traditions," his democratic theory a "statistical-majoritarian interpretation" of the "uniformities" of the will, and his corporate theory ("the whole is greater than its parts") a profoundly mystical "holism." Moreover, one reads of the "metaphysical, methodological, and axiological premises of the papal plenitude of power." (*Axiology* is a cherished word.)

From the second, the virtual omission of legal thought, contradictions result: Marsiglio was influenced by the government of Padua, yet his *valentior pars* was a principle of popular sovereignty; he made use of elements of the Roman law, yet his theories were more logical and modern; he believed in expedient, positive law, rejected a higher law, and yet championed a fundamental justice; and he was by and large an Aristotelian, but trusted the goodness and wisdom of the many. (Jean de Jandun is denied any part in the work.)

In fact, in spite of a few references to Roman law, the author turns exclusively to Aristotle and extreme Aristotelians for the explanation of Marsiglio's naturalism and secularism. But actually, not to mention other sources, the glossators and commentators had long been stressing a worldly "reason of state" in terms of *status reipublicae* (*regni*), the public welfare, necessity, and "*pro patria mori*" (cf. E. Kantorowicz, *AHR*, LVI [April, 1951], 472-92), to justify the taxation of the clergy and all acts necessary for preserving the peace. They stressed, too, the secular problems of government, legislation, jurisdiction, crime and punishment, problems, in short, of positive private and public law. Theologians likewise, e.g., Durand de Saint-Pourçain and Guido Terreni, stated that the civil law exists for public expediency, and that secular power is not related to a higher end since its function is the coercion of the wicked and the rewarding of the good, all for the common good on earth. Marsiglio, without denying divine and natural law

and the ultimate goal of man, simply confines his discussion to the realm of the public law, to the problems of the *status praesentis saeculi*, which includes, as in the legists, the priesthood. Indeed, his "holism" is merely the repetition of the maxim in the *Digest*, "the whole is greater than its parts."

As for the famous *valentior pars*, I think that Marsiglio is vague, and the author's confident assertion that it means the numerical majority of all the citizens is not satisfying. For Marsiglio fails to discuss vital related problems, such as summoning to the assembly and the quorum; nor is it certain that his assembly differs from the customary one of the commune, in which the people as a whole merely shouted approval of what was presented to them by magistrates and council. And the *valentior pars*, may, after all, resemble the traditional *major pars*, which was more quantitative than qualitative even among the canonists.

Finally, *jus sacrum* (p. 9) is a serious misreading of D. 1, 1, 2 ("*Publicum jus in sacris*, etc."); it is certainly not divine law. The author does not understand clearly the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope, nor the expression *superiore carens* (p. 131), which means that the king is emperor in his own realm, not that the state has no suzerain. The statement that there was no theory of legislation in the modern sense before Marsiglio is unfounded (p. 172); and likewise that he was the first to declare that unjust laws can be valid (pp. 134 ff.). To speak of the "idealistic utopianism of the medieval tradition" is misleading even when the final end of the heavenly city is in mind.

There are many virtues of erudition and stimulating discussion in the book; lack of space prevents my pointing them out. Yet, in sum, perspective and balance are lacking. Secular as he is, Marsiglio is not as original and revolutionary as the author believes; he is not the first modern man. A simpler interpretation is needed.

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

THE WHITE CANONS IN ENGLAND. By H. M. Colvin, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 459. \$7.00.)

THIS admirable book should secure and long retain a place among those which every lover of the Middle Ages is glad to possess. The author is already known as an authority on his subject, through articles he has published and through his deposit in the Bodleian Library of the most complete list ever made of corrections to Gasquet's three volumes of *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*. In the present book he has room to write at full length, to exercise his gifts for vivid presentation, to reach a circle wider than that confined to specialists and to provoke any observant reader to reflection upon the relation of the central theme to other aspects of medieval civilization. His opening survey of the rise of the

Premonstratensian order and of the character and aims of its founder, St. Norbert, shows that the latter had "none of the instincts of a legislator" and was personally difficult to work with. Norbert's evangelistic zeal, much stimulated by the geographical situation "between the Slavs and the Saxons" of the see he occupied when made archbishop of Magdeburg, might seem at first sight incompatible with the duties of his order of regular canons, whom he bade to "fear the company of men as a fish shuns dry land." The author shows how these two conceptions jostled each other in early days, how experimental and gradual was the process by which the new order shaped its structure, how strongly it came to be influenced by Cîteaux, and how in the form it had assumed by the later Middle Ages it "owed little but its birth to its founder."

The history is here traced of each of the thirty-three houses of White Canons which grew up in England, most of them during the second half of the twelfth century, though one, Wendling in Norfolk, was not founded until about 1267. There were also three nunneries, including the obscure Guyzance or Guisnes, in Coquetdale, which has often escaped notice. Gervase, abbot of Prémontré in the early thirteenth century, and by birth an Englishman, said bluntly that it was "entirely unknown to him." Gasquet printed twice over a document as to its visitation, but labeled this with the name of the wrong nunnery. The name does not appear in the late Professor Eileen Power's *Medieval English Nunneries*, a standard work of reference. Mr. Colvin now devotes three interesting pages to the "essential facts of its history." As to the abbeys, though they varied in size, spiritual health, and material resources, and though in 1536 all but eight of them shared the fate of the "lesser monasteries," they had a long history, well worthy of study. In the early days of Prémontré itself, an English novice had been turned out for thieving, having previously been found "restless in body, unreliable in behaviour, lukewarm in prayer, negligent in obedience, and remiss in everything." The savor of the abbeys founded in England later was quite sweet enough to remove any lingering traces of that unpleasant odor, even if they produced no saints or scholars of exceptional importance. One great problem for these houses, of course, was whether they should maintain or abandon direct subordination to Prémontré. This rather obscure question is discussed in a section devoted to the organization of the order in England. Other chapters treat of ecclesiastical obligations, secular obligations and intellectual activities. The book closes with nine appendixes.

The contents of these latter show how well the author understands what is likely to be helpful to his readers. Naturally he includes a bibliography, a list of manuscript sources and some of the more important emendations which should be made in *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*. Besides these he has a list of abbots, though pointing out that this cannot claim finality, because "there is no limit to the search for dated documents in which abbots' names occur"; a survey of the few bishops appointed from among the English Premonstraten-

sians, the most notable being Richard Redman, who in the late fifteenth century occupied in turn the sees of St. Asaph, Exeter, and Ely; a note on the Scottish abbeys; an account of those "villeins in monastic dress," the lay brothers, who were troublesome as in every other order to which they were admitted; and a tabulated examination of the number of canons in the English houses at four different periods. Appendix I, perhaps the most important of all, gives the text of nineteen original documents.

It is not possible here to mention, still less to comment on, all the features of interest in Mr. Colvin's book. Indeed, it would be most undesirable to rob readers of the pleasure of making their own explorations. They will be able to do so with full confidence in their guide, and will recognize his attitude as that of a true scholar, grateful to his forerunners, correcting if need be without acerbity, and making his own quite considerable addition to knowledge with no flourish or self-advertisement. Even the rather grim abbot of Newbo, whose effigy serves as frontispiece, might well relax his tightly closed lips in an approving smile. *Omnia bene.*

Chichester, Sussex, England

HILDA JOHNSTONE

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, 1216-1399.
Volume II, POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION, 1307-1399. By *B. Wilkinson*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Toronto. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1952. pp. viii, 340. \$4.75.)

THIS is the second of three volumes. The first (1948) deals with *Politics and the Constitution, 1216-1307*; the third, in preparation, *The Development of the Constitution, 1216-1399*. As pointed out in the review of Volume I (*AHR*, LIV [July, 1949], 869), this is not constitutional history in general, but analysis of a particular theme: the fourteenth century "finally translated the medieval traditions of government by counsel and consent under the supremacy of the law into the framework of limited monarchy" (p. 1). Like the first volume, it is a source book, with selections from Parliament and Statute Rolls, the best of the chronicles, etc., in excellent translation. Nine crises are presented: for Edward II, the coronation, the Ordinances, the Statute of York, and the deposition; for Edward III the crisis of 1341 and the Good Parliament; for Richard II, the crisis of 1386-87, the Merciless Parliament, and the deposition.

Each chapter has a select bibliography, an "Introduction to the Documents," and the documents. It is thus intended "not only to illustrate the facts of constitutional history, about which most of us are agreed, but also the problems which confront us at the moment arising out of modern research" (I, xii). Problems are posed by questions. Divergent views from Stubbs to Steel, including recent controversial review articles, are well stated. Although the author

indicates that certain problems await further research, on the whole he arrives at rather positive conclusions of his own.

An introduction of some eighty pages presents a corrective to misconceptions. "No period of English history, perhaps, has ever had its achievements so belittled and its virtues so completely ignored" (p. 7). Thirteenth-century political decisions and precedents were basic—traditions of law, and a social structure which encouraged common action between lords and commons, knights and burgesses. The fourteenth century went farther in changes "both institutional and ideological." The greatest issue is characterized as a "clash of 'sovereignities'": the power of the monarch strengthened by the rise of the national state; the powers and pretensions of the nobles in the guise of "bastard feudalism"; and the rise of the middle class of knights and burgesses in political consciousness and influence. This clash occasioned periodic disorders, but led ultimately to compromise and relative harmony—the sovereignty of the "King in his Parliament."

Professor Wilkinson is happy in his characterization of the three monarchs and his estimate of the impact of the era on Parliament. There is "an expansion of the share of the 'nation' in the business of government" (p. 5), and practical advances such as legislation by bill and impeachment. Granted that the magnates still dominated political life, there was the acceptance of the commons as a necessary element in a "full" assembly, and constructive co-operation. Some readers (though not the present reviewer) will question the definitive character of these developments by 1400. Others will prefer the school of historians who stress "personalities, not principles." As to such controversial issues as the Statute of York, the depositions and Henry IV's title, there is less concern with over-nice distinctions and technical labels, but a common-sense approach, viewing events as they probably looked to contemporaries.

University of Minnesota

FAITH THOMPSON

Modern European History

L'EGLISE ET LA RENAISSANCE (1449-1517). By *Roger Aubenas*, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit d'Aix-en-Provence, and *Robert Ricard*, Professeur à la Sorbonne. [*Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 15.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1951. Pp. 395. 1200 fr.)

THE volume entitled *L'Eglise et la Renaissance* is a notable contribution to the great co-operative *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. The authors have been assigned a very difficult period in the history of the church, a period which is also a peculiarly controversial one in the history of Western civilization, and they have grappled manfully with the problems it

presents. Though he is ably seconded by Professor Ricard, credit for the comprehensive treatment of the history of the church and its relations with the changing culture of these crucial years must go principally to Professor Roger Aubenas, who is responsible for the entire work with the exception of the sections devoted to Spain and Portugal.

Having two fairly distinct topics to deal with, the authors have divided their work into two parts of approximately equal length. The first is a chronological history of the church, for which the framework is supplied by the pontificates of the popes from Nicholas V to Leo X. This is a familiar story, largely factual, and the scholar who has read the standard histories will find little that is new and not much more that is controversial. Following the best traditions of Catholic scholarship, M. Aubenas has made no attempt to gloss over unpleasant facts or to apologize for what was inexcusable in the conduct of such unworthy occupants of their high office as Paul II, Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI. The reigns of these mundane princes of the church are grouped in one long chapter, candidly entitled "*Ambitions italiennes, népotisme, et fiscalité.*" For their predecessors there was more to be said, and M. Aubenas justly stresses the efforts of Nicholas V and Pius II to organize a crusade against the Turks, their services to humanism, and their success in combating the conciliar movement. For the last two popes with whom he has to deal, the author can also feel a qualified admiration. No Protestant historians would deny to that magnificent old warrior, Julius II, full credit for restoring to the papacy control of the states of the church and a strong position in Italian politics, nor to Leo X credit for his discriminating liberality to artists and writers; but no Protestant historian could make it more clear that these activities did not constitute the whole duty of a Vicar of Christ. If there is little that is novel in this story, it is at least a clearly narrated, objective, and well-balanced account, admirably documented, and it should prove extremely useful to students of the period.

In the second part of the book, the authors turn to a consideration of the religious, cultural, and social life of the age. Here they are on more uncertain ground and are faced at every turn by controversial problems. M. Aubenas opens the discussion with a historiographical essay on the interpretation of the Renaissance, in which he demonstrates full awareness of the varying and contradictory tendencies in recent Renaissance scholarship. He himself seems to adopt a moderately traditional position with eclectic qualifications. His Renaissance is at once a historical period and a spiritual movement, beginning first in Italy and characterized principally by the interacting forces of individualism and humanism. The influence of Burckhardt and his successors is clearly evident here; but M. Aubenas takes no stock in the paganism of the traditional Renaissance and he rejects the notion of a clear break between medieval and Renaissance culture. A conscientious determination to tread the middle of the road characterizes his treatment of such topics as Christian humanism, the Erasmian reform

propaganda, the quality of popular piety and popular morality on the eve of the Reformation, the religious element in Renaissance art, the state—generally deplorable—of the regular and secular clergy, and the abortive attempts to carry through a much-needed reform. While asserting that the Catholic reform movement of these years achieved more than has commonly been credited to it, he admits its sporadic character and deplores the lack of consistent direction from the top.

Throughout the work the authors furnish ample evidence that their assertion of a desire to regard the situation objectively is no empty formula. In innumerable instances where the opposing views of respectable authorities clash, they state both positions and then work toward "*une opinion plus nuancée*." As is inevitable in a work of this magnitude, the authors depend largely upon standard secondary sources. M. Aubenas leans most heavily upon Imbart de la Tour, as well he might. The names of Pastor, Janssen, Burckhardt, Renaudet, Andreas, Monnier, and Rodocanachi also occur on almost every relevant page, but so do the names of many more recent authors of articles, monographs, and other specialized works. The extensive bibliographical footnotes, indeed, are by no means the least useful part of the work and would by themselves make it an indispensable guide to students.

New York University

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

THE REFORMATION OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By Roland H. Bainton. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 276. \$3.75.)

THE title of this little book is outmoded Protestant high-hat for "The Protestant Reformation of the Sixteenth Century" (cf. p. 21). "Such a book is needed," the author states on the dust jacket, "because there is in the English language no survey of the Reformation which is up to date in scholarship, pitched at the level of the educated layman in style and vocabulary, and focused on the religious interests of the Reformation. . . . *This work, in other words, is intended for the general educated reader.*"

The author explains the origins and development of the Protestant movement, and ably discusses the four great Protestant solutions for reform. The chapter on the Anabaptists does pleasing justice to these harshly treated step children of Protestantism. The broad distinctions between Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Anglicans are well drawn. The religious motives affecting toleration—the political motives seem underestimated—and the alleged responsibility of Calvin for the growth of the capitalistic spirit are capably handled. In short the broad purpose of the book is achieved.

The same cannot be said so confidently of subsidiary matters. The transfer of the papacy to Avignon is ascribed to bankruptcy caused by the prohibition of

the export of gold from France. "The Avignon period to be exact was from 1305 to 1378" (p. 12). To be more exact it was 1305-1376. Realism was the philosophical undergirding of the dogma of the Trinity. Nominalism rejected that foundation. Agreed. For the late Scholastics "reality was held to consist of unrelated particulars" (pp. 15-16). Why *unrelated*? Nominalism is the philosophic underpinning of modern science; its particulars were not and are not held to be unrelated. "Italy was . . . the mother of the Renaissance" (p. 137); "delving in ancient texts . . . sharpened the methods of historical criticism" and exploded the Donation of Constantine (p. 17). Recent scholarship is not so sure. The terms of the Ecclesiastical Reservation of the Peace of Augsburg, 1555, are hardly indicated by the loose statement on page 155.

Condensation and simplification may explain in large part these and as many other similar inaccuracies. But they cannot account for the author's extended argument (pp. 58 ff.) which turns on the assertion that, when Luther made his historic appearance before the Diet of Worms (in April, 1521), he had not as yet been condemned by the church. On the contrary, the bull *Exurge Domine*, signed June 15, 1520—the bull Luther burned December 10—gave him sixty days from formal publication to recant or to present himself in Rome; if he did not do so he was to be automatically excommunicate. The bull *Decet Romanum*, January 3, 1521, for good measure announced that the excommunication had gone into effect. The result of these bulls seems clear.

The book has an excellent classified bibliography of writings in English. The list of Protestant biographies of Luther should have included E. G. Schwiebert's 1950 volume, *Luther and His Times*. Troeltsch too is missing, as is William A. Curtis' handy and authoritative *A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith* (Edinburgh, 1911). The illustrations, from contemporary woodcuts, yield something to scrutiny; the index is good.

University of Wisconsin

G. C. SELLERY

MORE'S UTOPIA: THE BIOGRAPHY OF AN IDEA. By J. H. Hexter. [History of Ideas Series, No. 5] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 171. \$3.00.)

It makes odd reading to turn back from the last page of this book to the introduction, where the author declares that his interpretation of *Utopia* is "unimpeachably orthodox" and that he makes "no pretensions to novelty, but rather disavows it" (p. 14). For the fact is that Professor Hexter's book is nothing if not novel. What he means by the above remarks is that he has returned to the construction put upon *Utopia* by More's contemporaries—by Busleyden, Budé, and Erasmus, who were in an excellent position to know More's intentions; and that whatever mystification surrounds *Utopia* today is owing to

"heresies" propounded by More scholars during the past hundred years. It is also true that he uses no new sources. But from a careful reconstruction of the text and from circumstantial evidence he undoubtedly throws new light on the way *Utopia* was written, on More's purpose and his stature as a thinker.

Mr. Hexter contends that More wrote the published *Utopia* in two installments. Book II, together with a "curious paragraph" in Book I, was composed in the Netherlands in 1515 during More's residence there as a member of Henry VIII's mission to Prince Charles. More originally intended Hythloday's discourse—note that it is *not* a dialogue—on the manners and customs of the Utopians to be the finished work. More's friends thought, and Mr. Hexter thinks, that the heart of More's argument in this section was his attack on private property as the root of all evil in Christendom. Upon his return to England, however, More decided to add the "Dialogue of Counsel" (the bulk of Book I, and a final concluding paragraph) because the problem uppermost in his mind in 1516 was the counseling of princes. Should he take or not take the high place in the royal service being urged upon him by Henry VIII? Could a Christian humanist accomplish more by remaining unattached like Erasmus and reforming life and society by education, or by accepting court service and thus seeking to win a hearing for his ideas? On this view *Utopia* does not present a unified literary design, as most critics have claimed, but "falls into two different and separate sets of intention on the part of the author" (p. 28).

The clever detective work on *Utopia's* construction by no means exhausts the novelties of this book. Mr. Hexter also makes us revise our notions of More the thinker. He links More with statesmen-writers like Commynes and Machiavelli, and, yes, with John Calvin—with the former because of More's grasp of political realities and his realistic analysis of sixteenth-century society; with the latter, not because More was a proto-Calvinist (far from it) but because, like Calvin, More advocated an *innerweltliche Askese* for secular society at large. In one of the most penetrating sections of the book Mr. Hexter distinguishes between More's idea of community of property and the Stoic-Patristic idea and modern socialism. On the one hand, More believed community of property to be fundamental to the Good Society and, further, to be not absolutely impossible of fulfillment in post-Fall society. On the other hand—unfortunately, there is no space to elucidate—his utopia "is no ideal society of Modern Socialism" (p. 71). In summary, More's reputation as a Christian humanist stands firm in these pages, but he emerges as a Christian humanist with a realistic and decidedly original twist.

"Unimpeachably orthodox" indeed! Professor Hexter gives us nothing less than a new interpretation of both the man and his book. Some scholars may find it hard to swallow. I wish that he had seen fit to spell out his position vis-à-vis R. W. Chambers' picture of More as the opponent of the new political and economic order in Europe. But if this is a fault, it is a fault of omission rather

than commission. In this reviewer's opinion the book is cogently argued and wholly convincing. No student of sixteenth-century history can afford not to read it.

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

THE AGE OF THE BAROQUE, 1610-1660. By *Carl J. Friedrich*, Harvard University. [*The Rise of Modern Europe.*] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. xv, 367. \$5.00.)

THE latest volume of this excellent series deals with the period from the death of Henry IV of France to the majority of Louis XIV and the age of Colbert. Frankly an essay in the relatively new cultural history, it gives ample treatment to the intellectual, artistic, architectural, economic, and scientific aspects of the period. It is the only one of twenty volumes in this series that takes its title from other than political or economic developments, and the application to the age itself of a term as definitely associated with art and architecture as "baroque" will cause some dissent, especially as it has been on the whole a term of opprobrium, as the author fully realizes. But he feels that the term does describe the vital political aspects of the period as well as the artistic and that there was baroque thinking in statesmanship, economics, political science, and even in science. "The sense of power in all its forms, spiritual and secular, scientific and political, psychological and technical is the only common denominator which enables us to conceive of them as varied expressions of a common view of man and the world" (p. 65). The baroque was a "high water mark of European creative effort"; its vital aspect was power; it was "focused on movement, intensity, tension, force" (pp. 45, 91). "It was the age in which the world view of the modern man took definite shape and organized itself for the conquest of mankind" (p. 123). If true, these statements would make of the two generations under consideration a major formative period comparable, if not superior, to the Renaissance, the age of Louis XIV, or the Enlightenment.

The volume, crowded with names and dates, is a veritable encyclopedia of the period. Yet it reads well and does not seem labored or unduly packed with material—a triumph of authorship. Nor does the political narrative seem to have suffered seriously from compression. The picture is so skillfully drawn that it emerges clear, precise, and adequate. The author's extended scholarship is everywhere evident.

The editor especially calls attention to the unorthodox judgments about England. It has been usual to treat England as living aside from the stream of Continental politics and even thought. It has been therefore accorded little space in histories of Europe. Professor Friedrich regards English literature, political science, and natural science as integral parts of the period and has allotted generous

space to such figures as James I, Hobbes, Milton, and Harvey, somewhat less to Bacon. English political history occupies nearly a sixth of the book. Professor Friedrich holds that "England seemed on the road to princely rule no less than the continent, in fact somewhat further advanced" (p. 2). The Tudors had established a "more effective monarchical absolutism than any other country" (p. 16). James and Charles were attempting, as were Continental rulers, to establish absolute monarchy. Charles's severest critics have rarely charged so much. The greatest single individual of the period in any country is declared to have been Oliver Cromwell (p. 324). Few of his admirers have alleged so much. The author also feels that political thought of the period in England has been "rather inaccurately" designated as "English democratic ideas." "The prevailing tone was constitutionalist rather than democratic" (p. 30). This is of course an issue of definition but it asks us to abandon an interpretation long knit into English and American thought. These judgments may be unorthodox, but one cannot quarrel with the author's giving England treatment comparable to that accorded France and Spain.

The critical bibliography is excellent and again devotes much space to England. The footnotes are well chosen. The excellent illustrations are essential to a volume entitled *The Age of the Baroque*. The only map is a general map of Europe on the cover, so little detailed that it might have been omitted altogether. Still, in a book of this character, which does not treat military history in detail, the omission of maps is not serious.

Washington University

ROLAND G. USHER

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN ENGLAND, 1476-1776: THE RISE AND DECLINE OF GOVERNMENT CONTROLS. By *Fredrick Seaton Siebert*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 411. \$7.50.)

THE struggle now underway in the world over the right to get and to disseminate information gives a timeliness to this history of press controls in a period during which there were laid the early foundations of our present freedoms. There is need for more searching examination of the origins of rights so long enjoyed that citizens cease to be alert in their defense.

This is the story of the rise and fall of press restraints in England from 1476 to 1776. As Mr. Siebert points out, "it took approximately 80 years to build up the system [of press controls] to its highest point; it took more than 200 years to tear it down."

The author has divided his account into the five conventional periods of English history and then subdivided each period by types of press control. Perhaps this is useful for reference and study but there is much to recommend the simpler chronological treatment. It is difficult to tell the story of press controls

without relating the history of the whole period and hard to separate from the stream of history a report on a freedom so inseparable from all other freedoms.

Assertion of government and church control over printing came early and was soon pervasive. Henry VIII and his council first intervened in 1528 to protect English printers against foreign competition—a lesson that should not be lost on printers who accept the favor of government. By 1542, records of the council were filled with cases against citizens for “seditious” words, “unfitting” words, “unseemly” words, or “evil opinions.”

Until Wilkes and Fox succeeded in moderating restraints on the press in the eighteenth century, printers were hounded by varieties of controls. The church was first the sole licenser of books. Heresy initially seemed the matter of most concern. In 1529, Henry VIII banned heretical books. Two Protestant booksellers were hanged under this edict. Then Henry quarreled with the church and thereafter, to keep things even, some Catholic printers were hanged. In 1538 sedition as well as heresy became the basis for anti-press actions. The Stationers Company, which tried to control licensed printing with varying success, was set up in 1557.

One of the most fascinating struggles was over publication of Parliament’s proceedings. The debates on this issue in 1680 employed most of the arguments occasionally heard today in controversies over closed and open governmental meetings. Not until 1803 was Parliament wholly opened to public view.

The Fox Libel Act of 1792 shook off another major threat to press operations. It freed juries to decide on the general issue of libel instead of just the fact of publication.

Step by step England got rid of licensing, restraints on access to courts and Parliament, and the threat of arbitrary punishment for utterance alleged to be treasonable, heretical, and seditious.

Freedom of the Press in England, it is to be hoped, will inspire further examination of this struggle. Topics that Mr. Siebert has had to crowd into a few paragraphs are worth treatment in full books. Glimpses of men such as Wilkes need to be expanded into new biographies that re-explore their contributions.

Washington, D. C.

J. R. WIGGINS

TRES EMBAJADORES DE FELIPE II EN INGLATERRA. By *Manuel Fernandez Alvarez*. (Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita. 1951. Pp. 319.)

THE theme of this prize-winning doctoral dissertation is announced with disarming simplicity. It seeks the cause of “the worst misfortunes of the reign of Philip II. At the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth of England could have been bridled by the king of Spain. What happened to prevent such an outcome?” The initial assumption is a large one, but it has been adopted by so many Eng-

lish historians, mostly for purposes of dramatic contrast, that a Spanish scholar need not be blamed for accepting it. Having done so, Dr. Fernandez Alvarez isolated the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign as the critical period and then immersed himself in the original documents, particularly the reports of Philip's residents in England, Feria, Quadra, and Guzmán de Silva, ignoring the published versions available since 1886 in the *Colección de documentos inéditos* and since 1892 in Martin Hume's independent *Calendar*, and restudying the texts at first hand in the archives at Simancas. Although both published versions are notoriously imperfect, no major re-evaluation seems to have resulted from this procedure. A small number of hitherto neglected documents, mostly for Feria's embassy, are printed in an appendix and some better readings of others are restored, but there is no net change in the familiar picture.

Nothing can replace for the historian fresh, intimate contact with original documents, and the zeal and industry which undertook this labor deserve the academic laurels which crowned it. Nevertheless, such an approach entails certain dangers. Even though a considerable bibliography was actually employed to provide a wider background, and a serious effort to relate the views and negotiations of the Spanish ambassadors to the larger political scene appears throughout, inevitably the dispatches on which so much time must have been spent mainly determine the thesis advanced. Briefly, this is that the heretic queen and her counselors were bent from the outset on the destruction of Spain and the Catholic faith, but were so weak that they could have been obliged to yield to force or the threat of force. Proper Spanish policy was to give maximum support to the Catholic opposition in England and Ireland in order to keep Elizabeth in awe, or, if necessary, to upset her throne. By ignoring his ambassadors' advice on this point at the beginning of his reign, Philip brought upon himself the disasters of its close. This leaves out a great many things, but its greatest lapse is in taking the Spanish reports, particularly those of Bishop Quadra, at raw face value. Nothing could be more rash. Quadra gave chief credence to the gossip of the ultra-Catholic malcontents. In consequence his facts were often wrong and his predictions absurdly wide of the mark. Philip and Granvelle had as good reason to distrust his judgments as Elizabeth and Cecil had to distrust those of Throckmorton and other English envoys who passed on every hysterical warning from the Continental Calvinists. Nothing is so deceptively persuasive as a vast yellowing pile of diplomatic reports. The observer was on the spot; he wrote down his impressions at once; here is exactly what he wrote. It is hard to remember that he may have been entirely mistaken. If a more critical approach to the documents would certainly have altered some conclusions, nevertheless this volume does provide an admirable and sympathetic account of the day-to-day preoccupations of the Spanish resident ambassadors in England (1558-1568), an account worthy in its technical finish of the best standards of modern Spanish scholarship, and promising from its author,

who was some years under thirty when he wrote it, more significant achievements as his mastery of his chosen field increases.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE AGE OF CHARLES I. By *David Mathew*. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode; New York: British Book Centre. 1951. Pp. 340. \$4.50.)

THIS is a most interesting book, even fascinating at times, though rather uneven in quality. An admirable feature is the study of groups whether formed by kinship, occupation, or neighborhood. The characterizations are original and subtle with many deft touches. Some of the portraits, however, do not seem harmonious. An example is provided by the varied phrases applied to Laud's style: "habitual roughness of expression," "heavy tranquil phrasing," and "suave wording" (pp. 101-103, 318). There are no heroes, though of Strafford it is said that he would have "stood alone as an heroic figure" but for Whig historians. Maybe so, but doubts arise whether Tories would have relished the lord deputy's high-handed treatment of Irish landlords or his suggestion that the army in Ireland might be used in Great Britain. Perhaps the most surprising statement in the whole book is that the antiquary and the man of curious knowledge were emerging; Sir William Camden was one of the king's younger contemporaries (p. xiii). Antiquaries had emerged; Camden, not a knight, died two years before Charles ascended the throne.

Puritanism is always troublesome to a historian and the account of it here is partly inconsistent and partly unacceptable. Dislike of prelacy is stated to be "in essence political," but two pages later Baxter is cited to prove that he became prejudiced against bishops because they persecuted godly ministers (pp. 117, 119). On the same page is the assertion that the "rising Puritan world would be preoccupied" with moral questions. Puritan values are said to have meant little to the lowest stratum of society, yet Baxter is quoted as having great success with the poor of Dudley. And George Fox and John Bunyan belonged to the economically insecure.

Two subjects not satisfactorily dealt with are foreign policy and economic history. That two different dates are given for the landing of Gustavus Adolphus at Usedom does not much matter (pp. 44, 68) but that the battle of Nordlingen is said to have ended Swedish participation in the Thirty Years' War is more serious. The assertion that after 1634 there was "a relatively simple conflict between the House of Austria and those of her German enemies who were maintained by the French Crown" is very misleading because it conceals both the Franco-Swedish alliance and the dominant part taken by France under the direction of Richelieu. Also, English resentment at the inglorious policy of Charles I, generally pro-Spanish, is insufficiently emphasized.

In the economic field the prosperity of the early 1630's and the depression

which followed seem to be ignored, except for a passing reference (p. xvi). The chapter on life in the country would have gained from a wider use of local records. Perhaps a perusal of the Northamptonshire Quarter Sessions Records and especially the examination of Thomas James, a laborer, who felt that he and the poor must right themselves by seizing and selling the firs at Burton Old in a hard, dear year, might have suggested less tranquillity in the countryside than the author assumes. The traveling journeymen are said to have formed a strong element in Cromwell's army. Evidence whether they were sufficiently numerous for such a purpose and did serve in the New Model would be welcome. The space accorded to vagrancy is insufficient, and the poor are neglected. To sum up, this is a thought-provoking book, even if the results of cogitation are sometimes critical.

Huntington Library

GODFREY DAVIES

PITT VERSUS FOX, FATHER AND SON: 1735-1806. By *Erich Eyck*. Translated by *Eric Northcott*. (London: G. Bell and Sons; New York: Macmillan Company. 1950, 1952. Pp. viii, 396. \$4.50.)

REVIEWERS will doubtless want to congratulate Mr. Eyck on the appearance of his book in English: the translation is smooth; the narrative unfolds with ease and clarity; the four personages, Chatham and his son, Henry Fox and the adorable Charles, always command a stage itself crowded by episodes of heroic scale. It is, indeed, an achievement, thus going, for example, Somervell or Basil Williams two better and in place of dual biographies of Gladstone and Disraeli or of Carteret and Newcastle composing a quartet and laying the biographies across no less than seventy years of English history.

Mr. Eyck had apparently three motives for writing this book. Himself a high-minded liberal and an admirer of Charles Fox, he may have wished to instruct Germans about the "curse" of personal government and the blessings of parliamentary democracy. He may too have wanted to salute the genius of three great and courageous leaders, the two Pitts and Charles. Certainly he was struck by the role of coincidence in history: the elder Pitt and Henry Fox, destined like their sons to be political rivals, entered the House of Commons the same year, 1735; Pitt, like young Charles, spent long years in opposition, detested by the king; the two Pitts, like the two Foxes, were second sons; three of the four were happily married; three were spendthrifts; Pitt the younger died at forty-six, exactly Bismarck's age when he became prime minister of Prussia; William and Charles both died in 1806. Mr. Eyck uses such tokens of chance to give unity to his ambitious tale.

Unfortunately, below the clarity of the narrative lurk confusions of interpretation and some errors of fact. Despite an admirably concise account of the many dissoluble party groups existing in England throughout the eighteenth

century, Mr. Eyck tells us that "to become a member of Parliament meant joining one or other of the two great parties into which England had been divided politically since the seventeenth century—the Whigs or the Tories." Hence, that invention of historians, the Tory party, crops up; George III, bent upon "destroying" the power of the aristocracy, "wanted to smash the Whig party once and for all" and in its place to "build up a new Tory party which would rally unconditionally round the throne"; Henry Fox "bought up a majority for the Peace of Paris." ("Everyone venal was bought up.") All this is distinctly pre-Namier and suggests that Burke's *Thoughts* no less than Walpole's unsupported statement about Fox and the peace are an unconscionable time a-dying. To learn that the Stamp Act did not impose an excessive burden upon the colonies must cause surprise in anyone familiar with the realities of the case. The maritime strategy of the two Pitts (conceivably an indispensable factor) passes without benefit of Sir Julian Corbett. Where does the book profit from the work of Barnes or of Turberville or of Guttridge? Why state that George's use of Temple to coerce the Lords in 1783 was "a flagrant violation of the obligations which the constitution imposed on the King," when no such restraint did in fact exist? Did Charles's friends really constitute the Whig party? Did they alone possess a monopoly of "idealism"? Why term Grafton and North prime ministers, if at the same time one asserts that George III hankered after the power of James II? Possibly the term has no meaning. At least three occurrences are misdated.

The author's attempt to revive the dying art of narrative history merits thanks. Still, his book is disappointing. Here are neither the drama and style nor yet the portraiture and passion of the masters; neither originality of interpretation nor its substitute, unchallengeable learning, carve the pages with distinction. No subtler, no more profound, themes than happenstance and cloudy ideas of liberty excite thought. Too often the quotations are hackneyed (often you know in advance what they will be), and the matter itself seems too familiar. Should *Pitt versus Fox* fail to interest the scholar, it can profit the layman. He will learn from the book and enjoy it. Eventually he may come to realize how much a man must read and think and feel before he reaches into inner history; and how always he should strive to ask himself the right questions.

Yale University

LEWIS P. CURTIS

THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND BRITISH EMPIRE, 1763–1793. Volume I, DISCOVERY AND REVOLUTION. By *Vincent T. Harlow*, Beit Professor of the History of the British Empire and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1952. Pp. viii, 664. \$8.75.)

THE historiographical device of chronological periodization has been prominent among the causes affecting—and distorting—our outlook on the past. With

deepening of historical knowledge has come a tendency to abandon sharply demarcated historical epochs. But we still need to be reminded that the continuity of history is no mere empty phrase. The volume in hand constitutes a massive argument for departing from the time-honored custom of dividing the history of the British Empire into two parts by the year 1783, a custom followed by the eminent authorities who planned the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, the first volume of which, it will be recalled, deals with the "Old" Empire, down to 1783, and the second with the growth of the "New," or "Second," Empire, after that year. Professor Harlow contributed a chapter to that second volume on "The New Imperial System, 1783-1815," and perhaps it was his experience in writing it that convinced him that the "Second" Empire began before the "Old" one ended.

In the present volume, the first of a projected two-volume work, Professor Harlow is concerned with events that occurred during the twenty years between the end of the Seven Years' War and the end of the War of the American Revolution, but he has not included in it everything that he thinks ought to be considered during those two decades (1763-1783). He intends to return in a second volume, to deal mainly with the years 1783-1793, to the earlier years, "to pick up threads which were then beginning to appear in the pattern."

While, however, rejecting what he calls the "epochal" view of British imperial history, Mr. Harlow is committed, as the title of this, his most broadly conceived work, indicates, to the idea of a "Second" British Empire, the beginnings of which he finds in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the main trend of British imperialism, as he sees it, reverted to lines unsuccessfully begun two hundred years earlier. For the remote foreshadowings of this "Second" Empire he goes back to the Elizabethan Dr. John Dee, with his "tremendous scheme for a Britannic Empire in the Pacific," and to Francis Drake's great voyage of 1577-1580, which was intended to open the way for the establishment of such an empire by exploring the coast of *Terra Australis Incognita* and discovering the western end of a Northwest Passage to the South Seas. But the Northwest Passage did not materialize, and *Terra Australis* remained *Incognita*.

Among those whom the author calls "the maritime pioneers of the Second Empire" James Cook was pre-eminent, but there were heroes before Agamemnon, of course, and Mr. Harlow does them full justice. Cook's three great voyages represented the culmination of a national policy which had for its object "to comb the South Seas for the Unknown Continent and to acquire a direct sea-passage thereto by discovering a channel north of New Albion [the territory around the present San Francisco] leading to Hudson's Bay." There was nothing new about the motivation behind the search for the Unknown Continent; it was thoroughly mercantilist, essentially the same as that which had led to the founding of the "Old" Empire a century and a half before. *Terra Australis* was to become "a vast reservoir of raw materials and a correspondingly large market for British manufactures." Cook's second voyage exploded the ancient, and most

influential, legend of *Terra Australis*, but in its place "the shadowy forms of Australia and New Zealand . . . had been brought into sharp and accurate focus, and the vast ocean to the eastward had been studded with 'convenient situations' for the development of commerce." Australia, New Zealand, and other Pacific islands, unknown in the days of the "Old" Empire, were to play their parts in those of the "New." For a brief moment the Northwest Passage reasserted its allure, but Cook's third voyage showed that no open, ice-free passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic existed. (One of the most original things in this volume is the brief account of a contemporaneous and complementary effort to find the eastern end of the hoped-for passage.) The policy of the British government in the age of Cook (also the age of the American Revolution, which accentuated a reaction against imperial expansion by colonization from the British Isles) was to create "a network of trading posts, through which the teeming population of a world new to Europe might receive British manufactures in exchange for their own natural resources." And this policy survived the belief in the existence of *Terra Australis* and a practicable Northwest Passage. "The initial drive had been directed to the Pacific because of the legend of *Terra Australis*, but those who succeeded the Georgian navigators pursued the same objective in the far interior of Africa and Madagascar, in the unoccupied parts of the East Indies, and in the China Seas."

While the "Second" Empire was predominantly a colored empire, inhabited mainly by Asians and Africans, it was not entirely so. In fact Mr. Harlow devotes the last three quarters of this volume to matters relating mainly to North America and Ireland in the age of the American Revolution. It is impossible within the limits of a short review to convey any adequate impression of the breadth and depth of the author's detailed treatment of Shelburne's imperial policy, of the commercial relations between the British Empire and the United States immediately after the Revolution, or of Anglo-Irish relations in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Whether or not the concept of a "Second" British Empire is accepted as valid, few readers of this volume will be likely to deny that Mr. Harlow has made important contributions to British imperial history.

Columbia University

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

THE CHEMICAL REVOLUTION. By *Archibald Clow* and *Nan L. Clow*. (London: Batchworth Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 680. 50s.)

THE present book is the first attempt to give a coherent picture of the emergence of the chemical industry in Great Britain. The time-range of the book is roughly from 1750 to 1830—that is, from the establishment in 1749 at Prestonpans in Scotland of Dr. John Roebuck's works for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, to the first heating in 1828, by the Scot J. B. Neilson, of the blast in

iron furnaces. The role of Scots and Scotland in these bounding limits is not accidental, and the Clows have taken as their focus Scotland in its golden age—the age of Hume, Smith, and Burns, but also of Black, Hutton, and Watt. As these names will suggest, the history of Scots science and technology is well known in a fragmentary and selective way. But the environment of these men has never before been peopled with so many significant secondary figures, from Lord Dundonald the pioneer of the coal tar industry to Macintosh of the mackintosh, and the nexus of their entrepreneurial and scientific activities so well displayed. There is a very convincing picture of the rich complication of interests, acting and reacting upon one another, which ensures that just for a while the successes of a successful culture will feed on themselves, and everything turn to gold, until a progressive thinning out sets in and the heroic age passes away forever. On what is perhaps its distinctive side, there has never been a more illuminating portrayal of one of the most remarkable cultures of modern times—humane, temperate, and common-sense, with a characteristic vein of dryness and practicality that made it a seedbed of entrepreneurs and applied scientists. Though the Scots quite naturally fill the center of the stage, the authors are well acquainted with developments on the wider British and European scene. Indeed, they show that one of the great contributions of Scotland lay precisely in helping to found the scientific and industrial traditions of Birmingham, the home of the Lunar Society and of the firm of Boulton and Watt.

Apart from the contribution made to an understanding of Scots society of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this book amply sustains the thesis that the mechanical innovations of the period have been overemphasized at the expense of advances in applied chemistry. Alongside the Watt engine and the new textile machinery must be set the manufacture of soda and sulphuric acid, the founding of tar and coal gas industries, and the improvement of iron smelting and forging. The Clows show that this whole mechanical and chemical repertoire is of one piece, in owing much to the chemical tradition handed down from Boerhaave of Leyden (himself the student of a Scots chemist) to Cullen, Black, and Watt, and in enlisting the same personnel. In addition to perfecting the steam engine, James Watt manufactured alkalis, made early experiments with balloons filled with hydrogen, took an interest in waterproofing before Macintosh, furthered the bleaching of textiles by chlorine, improved the whisky still, and engaged in the manufacture of gas lighting apparatus to illuminate factories run by the Watt engine. No one who sees Watt in the light of this book will doubt that the conventional view of the Industrial Revolution in its technical aspect has been one-sided and truncated—and it may fairly be said that henceforth no one ought to discuss the Industrial Revolution without taking account of the materials presented here.

In addition the book makes two further contributions. It supplies several vivid case histories of the interrelationship between tax policy and technological

progress; and it shows that the founding of a chemical industry need not and did not wait upon the chemical theorists. It may be that the science of chemistry sprang to life at the touch of Priestley, Cavendish, and Lavoisier; but the authors show that when Priestley "discovered" ammonia he was dealing with a substance already in commercial production. Unfortunately, in the same context of the relationship between theory and practice, the Clows perpetuate the myth that Watt could not have improved the steam engine without the discovery by Joseph Black of latent heat.

This long and important book should be read by all economic historians, historians of science and technology, and students of Scots culture. It contains excellent bibliographical apparatus, a valuable glossary of obsolete chemical terminology, and no fewer than 111 plates which really illustrate something.

Brown University

DONALD FLEMING

GESCHICHTE DER GROSSEN REVOLUTION. Band II: VOM LIBERALISMUS ZUR DIKTATUR. By *Martin Göhring*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1951. Pp. viii, 410. DM 24.30.)

PROFESSOR Martin Göhring's first volume, which appeared in 1950 and was devoted to the eighteenth-century background of the French Revolution, was an admirable work of synthesis. Its promise has been fully carried out in this volume, which runs from the meeting of the Estates General to the fall of Robespierre. A third volume will take the story to the eighteenth Brumaire, and will review the Revolution as a whole. A fourth and final volume will be devoted to a critical bibliography of sources and historical writing on the subject. It is already clear that this is one of the major works of our time on the history of the great Revolution. The four volumes give Professor Göhring scope for more than the summary treatment a textbook has to give; this is an *oeuvre de longue haleine*.

Professor Göhring writes in a good clear prose, quite free from what Nietzsche scornfully called "German profundity." He cannot but be aware that half-a-dozen generations of historians have preceded him, but he does not let fear of the already said get in the way of his narrative. A good test of the general historian of the French Revolution is his treatment of the flight to Varennes. Professor Göhring tells this oft-told story admirably, with no forcing of the drama and with full command of the immense amount of detailed research that has gone into this episode. So too with his concluding chapter on Thermidor, at once an excellent analysis of a complex political crisis and a clear narrative of exciting events. He has space to make real and to appraise his characters; from Mirabeau to Robespierre the leading figures appear in the round. He pays full respect to the history of economic and political institutions, and to the history of ideas, but without letting them get in the way of his narrative.

The work inevitably challenges comparison with the recent general history

by Georges Lefebvre. Professor Göhring can give a fuller treatment, for he has four volumes instead of one, and he need bring in the history of countries other than France only where it touches directly on the Revolution. His story has more life and flow than has Professor Lefebvre's. Both make full use and generous acknowledgment of the contribution made in the last few generations to the historiography of the French Revolution by scholars both inside and outside of France. Both are fully aware of the limitations of the *école officielle* of revolutionary history; neither thinks of the Revolution as the spontaneous rising of a virtuous people against intolerable oppression.

Professor Göhring, however, is more clearly aware than his French colleague seems to be of the ambivalence of Jacobinism, an ambivalence neatly set out in a nutshell in Rousseau's famous phrase about forcing a man to be free. He wisely does not write about twentieth-century politics, but at least once, after he has described St. Just's fantastically totalitarian plan for an *école de Mars*, he cannot deny himself the parenthetical remark, "*Wie sehr fühlt man sich, verfolgt man dies Bestrebungen weiter, in andere Zeiten versetzt!*" (p. 385). Professor Lefebvre, as a good Frenchman of the non-Communist left, cannot quite bring himself to see in Jacobinism not merely a spiritual ancestor of democratic feeling for the dignity of the individual—and therefore of his "right" to be imperfect, to be human—but also a spiritual ancestor of the totalitarian feeling that the individual should be a perfectly conditioned member of a society as little disturbed by the problems of individual freedom as that of the social insects. Professor Göhring, however, though he has no trace of the reactionary, the royalist, can see clearly that the Jacobinism of the Republic of Virtue, of Robespierre at his peak, just because it will not accept the variety, the complexity, the perverseness and wickedness, if you like, of man-in-society, ended not as a democratic but as a totalitarian movement. Or at the very least, this Jacobinism was, in the penetrating phrase of Professor J. L. Talmon of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a form of "democratic totalitarianism." Professor Göhring puts it neatly when he says that after the ninth Thermidor "*Das Laster braucht sich nicht mehr vor der Tugend zu verstecken. Sie dürfen wieder wandeln, Arm in Arm, so wie es die Natur des gewöhnlichen Sterblichen verlangt*" (p. 405).

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN FRANCE, 1815-71. By John Plamenatz, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1952. Pp. xiv, 184. \$3.25.)

THE revolutionary movement in France between 1815 and 1871 does not submit to scholarly discipline with ready grace. The facts are skittish and the accounts perverse. Yet John Plamenatz has thoroughly combed, tightly spun, and thoughtfully and imaginatively woven the recalcitrant threads of its history into

a fine finished product. He does himself rather less than justice when he demurs that his book is "less a commentary on events than an account of them." Much of it is in the first person singular. Although those well read in the field will recognize the sources of much of his information—there are no footnotes and the bibliography is selective—they will recognize that this is history rewritten rather than rehearsed. The author takes the view that revolutions are caused by the specific, avoidable failures of governments rather than by impulsive, yet inevitable, pressures by the governed. Thus the upheavals described in meticulous, if brief, detail are happily not subject to manipulation on the puppet strings of a theory of revolutionary behavior. The fortuitous gets its just due. The book traces the Republican movement from the end of the Revolution of 1789 through the victory over the Commune instead of, as would seem more logical, to the final capture of the Republic by the Republicans. It is only incidentally a book about what the Republicans thought. Primarily it deals with their political activities. With admirable simplicity it discusses the complex of relationships, the whys and wherefores of the bellicose antagonisms and distrustful alliances, within this factious and convinced minority. The author compares the rise and fall of Republican popularity with the Republican estimates of it and the effect of both on the course of events. He recognizes implicitly that as Republican doctrine became respectable, revolutionaries became less so, and that it was only when revolution became divorced from Republicanism that the latter ceased to be its own worst enemy and was welcomed to stay. Here and there the book may disturb the expert's thought pattern and he may long for the comforting reassurance of a footnote. He may feel that certain of the revolutionaries are not well portrayed, or that the interplay between the liberals and the Republicans could have been given fuller treatment at the expense of certain details. Parenthetically, this should prove useful as upper class "outside" reading. There is a zest of thought and a briskness of style which makes it an eminently worth-while contribution.

Columbia University

EDWARD L. KATZENBACH, JR.

LA POLITIQUE DES TRAVAUX PUBLICS DU SECOND EMPIRE. By
Louis Girard. (Paris: Librairie Armand. 1951. Pp. xxxii, 415.)

THIS is primarily a detailed study of the public works program carried out during the Second Empire. In the work the author discusses a plan for national *équipement* started under the July Monarchy and interrupted during the Second Republic by the economic and political crises that occurred at that time. He attempts to bring out the economic, social, and political significance of the public works program which developed during the period of the empire, and discusses the plan to develop railroads and expand public works in the cities as forming a kind of "fourth power" in the state. In carrying out this theme, the author

emphasizes in the first part of the volume the political and social problems posed by the *plan d'équipement* of 1842. He discusses the measures taken to remedy the situation and attempts to explain the failure of this program prior to the establishment of the empire in 1852. In the second part, he describes the economic policies which were inaugurated after the overthrow of the Second Republic and asserts that the public works undertaking was designed to bring prosperity to France and thus assure the popularity of the empire. In the third part, the author points out the shift in emphasis on economic expansion from railroad construction to urban and financial development. He claims that with the attainment of this national *équipement*, the role of the public works program was ended. As the Napoleonic government declined, the methods by which the administration had brought to completion a material revolution without precedence in the history of France were violently denounced by public opinion. In short, the public works policy, which at first was a source of strength to the empire, became one of its outstanding weaknesses. Nevertheless, today the material achievements of this phase of government activity exist, whereas certain factors such as corruption and dubious methods pursued during this economic development are forgotten.

This volume emphasizes the economic phase of the Second Empire, and therefore should be of great interest to the economist as well as the historian. There are few books on this subject and certainly no satisfactory works in English which deal with the material in so comprehensive a manner. The political and social aspects of the imperial public works policies, however, suffer in Girard's treatment, although they are not totally neglected. It is interesting to note that Napoleon III is essentially a secondary figure in the volume. Possibly a chapter or a section devoted to his role in the program would have strengthened the book. But it is only fair to state that the work does not profess to deal with Napoleon, nor with the political and social phases of the empire; rather it covers the economic point of view as represented by the public works program. It does dwell on the men surrounding Napoleon III during this important period and describes their role in the development of transportation, communication, urbanization, and high finance. Thus the book is especially valuable in that it throws light upon the achievements of the Péreire brothers, Haussmann, Chevalier, Persigny, and many others.

On the technical side the volume is outstanding. The author's citations are extensive, pertinent, and accurate. He includes in his footnotes much valuable material. As for his bibliography, it is well organized and seems to have exhausted the literature in French covering this subject. Apparently he has not used certain English documents, such as the Cowley papers, but the reviewer doubts whether this material would have thrown much additional light on the subject. The value of this scholarly work is enhanced by the inclusion of a table of contents, but the index would have been more valuable had it not been

limited to people's names. However, this is a minor matter. More important is the fact that the author in this book has made a distinct contribution to the history of the Second Empire.

University of California

FRANKLIN C. PALM

FERDINAND DE LESSEPS: LE DIPLOMATE, LE CRÉATEUR DE SUEZ.

By *George Edgar-Bonnet*. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1951. Pp. 512. 720 frs.)

THE fascinating story of the many-sided Ferdinand de Lesseps is here told in fluently vivid prose that makes the man live again. Furthermore, the author, who is honorary director general of the Suez Canal Company, has not only examined the traditional raw material of histories of Suez but has based much of his work on hitherto inaccessible records of the Canal Company and on the unpublished papers of Lesseps himself. These private archives are especially significant because, as the author points out, the documents published by Lesseps for the edification of the public—and, be it said, for historians of the future—were distortions of the truth. Not that the facts were falsified, but the tone was systematically altered so as to produce the impression desired. If only for the new material it offers, therefore, this study is a valuable contribution to history.

But if this is the biography of a man, it is also his apologia. Much of the book is intended as an answer to the various charges usually levied: that Lesseps abused his friendship with Saïd Pasha, that, with the support of the French government, he was able to impose the bulk of the cost of the Canal on Egypt, that the expenses so incurred were a major factor in dilapidating the finances of the viceroy and led indirectly to bankruptcy and foreign occupation.

One seems to surmise in this defense a hint of injured pride (cf. pp. 390 f.). France has always looked upon Suez as more than a canal: it has been a symbol of national achievement, accomplished—and this is perhaps most important—in the face of British bumbling and blindness. However that may be, the argument of Edgar-Bonnet must be accepted and judged as such. And it is as an argument that the book is weakest.

It is impossible to understand the history of Suez outside the context of the Egypt of the time, an Egypt nominally independent—at least as a part of the presumably independent Ottoman Empire—but in fact a colony where foreigners, supported by imperious and often venal consular representatives, exploited with impunity the generosity and prodigality of the viceregal government and in the space of two decades ruined the country. It is within this framework that Lesseps operated, and it is only through methods closely akin to extortion that he was able to do the impossible: to pay for work which cost more than two francs for every franc he had in his pocket. This constant shortage of funds is the central thread of the early internal history of the Canal Company and was the primary motivation for the tedious years of negotiations, disputes,

arbitrations, conventions, cessations, recessions, and so on, which mark the relations of the company with the Egyptian government.

There is none of this in Edgar-Bonnet. If the international diplomatic environment is described with considerable talent and detail, the "rape of Egypt"—to use one writer's phrase—is ignored. One has the impression, in reading of Lesseps' financial tribulations and expedients, of a vague plot by imperialistic Britons, jealous Frenchmen, and two-faced Egyptians to block the project, or at least to rob Lesseps of the fruits of his work. And as a final touch, the reader is told that Lesseps' "*cri de coeur*" to his right-hand man, Ruyssemaers, that "the Egyptian government has made no sacrifice of any kind for the execution of the Suez Canal"—a statement which must go down in history as a monument of ingratitude—was also the "voice of reason" (p. 404).

There is, to be sure, something of the truth in this picture. The Canal did have its enemies, who did succeed in hurting the company and Lesseps. But this is only part of the truth, certainly not the most important part—the worst enemy of the company was its own insolvency—and Edgar-Bonnet's omission of the rest of the picture necessarily entails a certain mistreatment and neglect of the sources. Two examples will have to suffice: (1) The discussion of the amount of the viceroy's subscription for shares in the Canal Company—a very important point—rests (pp. 329-30) in large part on a misreading of a letter from Colqhoun to Russell of June 3, 1860 (For. Off. 142-25). (2) The dispute over customs rights in the isthmus, which probably more than any other conflict throws light on the financial policy of the company and its unconditional support by the French government, is completely ignored. (Cf. the picture in Sabry, *L'empire égyptien sous Ismaïl*, pp. 299-311, which, though extremely unfavorable to the Canal and French diplomacy, might have been even less flattering had Sabry consulted the commercial as well as the political correspondence of the Ministère des Affaires étrangères. Unfortunately, Edgar-Bonnet does not seem to have used Sabry.)

The result is a book which is at once a success and a failure. *Ferdinand de Lesseps* is good biography, a pleasure to read, and so rich with new material that it must necessarily take its place alongside Roux, Hallberg, and Sabry as a basic work on the Canal. On the other hand, it is strongly biased in favor of its subject—by no means an uncommon fault of biographies—and will have to be used by historians with especial care.

Columbia University

DAVID S. LANDES

PAX HELVETICA. By *Hermann Weilenmann*. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1951. Pp. 343.)

GERMAN geographers and historians have in recent decades tended to over-emphasize the geographical factors in the evolution of modern states and their

respective characteristics. Our own scholars, on the other hand, have—at least until World War II—been prone on the whole to pay unduly little attention to the influence of such elements, except of course when dealing with the cultural and economic history of the United States. The deplorable decline of emphasis on geography proper in the curriculums of our secondary schools reflected to a certain extent the same attitude.

All the more important—in view of our recent awakening to the significance of geopolitical aspects for the understanding of developments past and present in the world around us—is this sober and reasoned attempt of a Swiss scholar to analyze the complex interrelationship of geographical, historical, and sociological influences which in their totality have contributed to the birth of modern democratic Switzerland. Methodically his work is divided into an introductory chapter followed by four sections dealing, respectively, with the divisive geographical and human characteristics of the country, the counterbalancing connecting links between the divers natural and human entities, the sociological basis of Swiss democracy, and finally the present-day working machinery of this supralingual democracy in which German, French, Italian, and Rhaeto-Roman populations live in peace and freedom, while their brethren in France, Germany, and Italy are still groping toward a *modus vivendi* of this kind.

Weilenmann's book is written crisply and lucidly. There is no violent agitation in favor or against fashionable interpretations of history. The author tries, and in the opinion of this reviewer at least, very successfully to present the relevant facts objectively to the educated reader. Written for the general public but with the scrupulous attention for detail essential for the scholar, *Pax Helvetica* if made accessible to the American public in an English version would give both professional historians and educated laymen an excellent opportunity to grasp the main problems besetting today the accomplishment of a united western Europe, problems which in the small "pilot-plant" of Switzerland have been successfully solved. Whether *mutatis mutandis* history will provide a similarly happy outcome to the present struggle in Europe remains to be seen, but Weilenmann's study is certainly thought-provoking in its clear statement of the grave difficulties involved in the establishment of a multilingual, multicultural democratic union. Printed in an exemplary manner the book has only one real flaw affecting its usability (for non-Swiss readers at least): it lacks an index. A second edition, or an English version in any case, should (and probably will) remedy this omission, curiously frequent in Continental publications.

Mount Holyoke College

FREDERICK H. CRAMER

DAS ANDERE PREUSSEN. By Hans Joachim Schoeps. (Stuttgart: Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag. 1952. Pp. 358. DM 16.30.)

DURING the last few years, Bismarck's goal and methods in founding the Ger-

man Empire on the military might of Prussia have been criticized from two sides: some historians, among whom Erich Eyck is the most prominent, have attacked Bismarck from the liberal point of view, a point of view for which Gladstone was the ideal statesman; other German historians, led by Franz Schnabel, have objected to Bismarck's acceptance of the national-state idea and expressed their preference for a federalist solution of the Central European problem. Hans Joachim Schoeps, professor of history at the University of Erlangen and editor of the *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, which he founded in 1947, has brought to the fore another opposition to Bismarck: the one of the old Prussian conservatives, who objected to Bismarck's revolutionary methods and his disregard of international law as embodied in the Holy Alliance. The leader of this opposition was Ludwig von Gerlach (1795-1877), who was not without some influence on the Prussian court from 1840 to 1859. Dr. Schoeps has spent many years discovering and reading unpublished material dealing with the period of Prussian history under Frederick William IV. He now presents some of his findings in the present volume. He does it with a purpose, namely, to show that Prussia was not only the home of militarism but that there were strong Occidental-Christian trends which opposed the cult of material success and the nation-centered outlook which triumphed in the era of Bismarck.

The present volume is divided into four parts, of which the first deals with Gerlach and his conservative political thought; the second with the now forgotten historian, Heinrich Leo (1799-1878), a contemporary of Ranke and for half a century professor at the University of Halle; the third, with the attitude of the various Prussian groups to the European powers in the four years between Olmütz and the outbreak of the Crimean War; and finally, a number of unpublished letters of various German personalities of the period to Ludwig von Gerlach, written between 1850 and 1876, and printed here for the first time.

Gerlach's point of view can best be summed up in a sentence from the pamphlet which he wrote at the beginning of 1870:

Thus Europe stands no longer on the foundation of the treaties of 1815 but on the foundation of successes and facts [*Boden der Erfolge und Tatsachen*], as they have said so arrogantly since 1866. It is the very same foundation on which Napoleon I stood, when he had one foot in Moscow and the other in Spain and was convinced that he stood very firmly. But this foundation is as friable as the facts themselves, as it was shown then and as is being shown now. No wonder, therefore, that the foundations are tottering. Only truth, justice, and faithfulness provide a firm foundation for peace. They have been from eternity and they will remain so for all times.

Drunk with victory and proud of "reality," the Germans did not heed Gerlach's warning. The foundations took some time to totter, and during that time they seemed firmly established. But in 1918 and again in 1945, Gerlach's warning was justified.

Gerlach was a Christian who believed that religion and not nationality should be the guiding principle of political life. Bismarck's wars appeared to him violations of that Christian European solidarity which he saw pre-formed in the Holy Alliance. He was equally opposed to democracy and to absolutism, and he saw Bismarck play with both. He was the founder of the Prussian Conservative party and of its chief organ, the *Kreuzzeitung*, but in 1866 his party and his paper refused to go along with him, and from that time on he was an isolated, lonely figure. He found more sympathy among German Catholics than among Prussian Protestants.

There is no doubt that Gerlach represented a firm opposition to the Germano-centered nationalism growing up in the nineteenth century, but the claim of Professor Schoeps that Gerlach really represented "the other Prussia" has hardly been substantiated by the book. Except for Gerlach, the whole of Prussia and most of the Germans went over to Bismarck's camp. "The other Prussia" was a very weak plant and withered away in the first strong wind blowing from the neo-German camp. Even Heinrich Leo, the second man whom Professor Schoeps introduces, embraced Bismarck and Bismarckism with enthusiasm and was therein much more characteristic of Prussia and Germany than Gerlach. He celebrated in Bismarck the triumph of the real and rational in history. He was openly a militarist and annexationist who demanded that the Prussians should "devour our miserable neighboring nations." He celebrated, as early as 1853, the joyous, glorious war (*den frisch-fröhlichen Krieg*) which God will send for the redemption of the Germans and in which they will recognize the Lord in His thunderstorm. This pious Christian ridiculed "the poison of sentimental humanitarianism" and found the harshest terms for the glorification of violence and for the vilification of Germany's enemies.

It was the tragedy of German history that scholars like Heinrich Leo, who hated England and France and scorned pacifism and liberalism, triumphed in Germany, and that men like Ludwig von Gerlach remained impractical, solitary warners whose voices were not heard by anybody. But even they would not have been able to inaugurate a promising policy in Germany, even if they had had the power to do it. Their hearts and minds were too much turned toward the past. They had no understanding of the modern developments in the West. Perhaps it may be said that it was Germany's undoing that she never possessed conservatives like the English conservatives, men who understood how to preserve the great traditions of the past and yet were ready to adapt themselves to the needs of changing times. It has often been said that there were no true liberals in Germany. It can be said as well that there were no true conservatives in Germany. Professor Schoeps's book makes this abundantly clear.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

DIE OBERSTE WEHRMACHTFÜHRUNG, 1939-1943. By *Helmuth Greiner*. (Wiesbaden: Limes Verlag, 1951. Pp. 444. DM 24.50.)

WHEN, in 1939, the outbreak of the war against Poland was imminent, the author of this book, who, during the interwar years, had been a military historian in the German Reichsarchiv, was ordered to join the Armed Forces High Command (OKW) and charged with the task of writing the war diary of the OKW. He remained in this position until the spring of 1943 when he was succeeded by Professor Percy Ernst Schramm. Although the final result of the author's activity, the war diary of the OKW, was destroyed in 1945, the author was able to keep fragments of a copy and some of the daily handwritten notes which he had used in composing the diary. The book under review represents an attempt to reproduce the main contents of that diary on the basis of material still in the author's possession.

Because of this origin and purpose, the book has clear limitations. Chronologically, it does not cover the entire Second World War, not even the full period of the author's service with the OKW, but only events up to the Russian campaign of 1941. Moreover, the book looks upon the developments from the point of view of the planning staff at Hitler's headquarters; it is not concerned with the manner in which the military campaigns were conducted but only with their planning. The book discusses the origin and development of the plans for the various German campaigns from 1939 to 1941—of those which were carried out as well as of those which, like the operation "Felix" against Gibraltar, did not get beyond the planning stage. Within this framework, the book makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of German strategy in the Second World War. Although it does not change the general view which has emerged from single documents, published memoirs, and interrogations of German generals, the book adds fuller and more authentic documentation as well as important details to our knowledge.

The book clearly establishes the important, even decisive, part which Hitler himself had in planning the encirclement of the Polish army in 1939 and in suggesting the breakthrough at Sedan in 1940; the facts given in the book do not fully justify the author's thoroughly unfavorable judgment about Hitler's strategic gifts. Certainly, weaknesses emerge, such as Hitler's lack of interest in operations beyond or outside the European continent. The book shows the subordinate role which the Mediterranean theater played in German strategic thinking. Hitler never believed that a real decision could be made through operations in this area. Nor did Hitler ever show great energy in pushing the operation "Seelöwe," i.e. the invasion of England. The author gives a detailed presentation of the divergences between the German army and the German navy with regard to this operation, but these conflicts could probably have been resolved if Hitler himself had felt strongly about the necessity and feasibility of the enterprise.

One of the most interesting chapters is the one on the planning of the Russian campaign. Of course it is well known that, immediately after the completion of the French campaign, Hitler gave orders to prepare plans for a campaign against Russia. The author makes it clear that, from this time on, these preparations were pushed forward with great seriousness and energy—with greater steadiness than any other military plan in that period. This is no final proof but strongly supports the view of those who believe that Hitler's decision to attack Russia was taken in the summer of 1940 and that the Molotov visit to Berlin and the Balkan events had no determining influence.

In an introductory chapter the author gives his impressions of the various personalities with whom he came in contact at Hitler's headquarters. Especially interesting is his long and unfavorable characterization of Jodl. Attempts of the author to describe the political background of the various campaigns are less fortunate, but these excursions into the fields of evaluation and interpretation are brief. On the whole, the book is a straightforward and clear digest of historically extremely important material.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

THE GREEK WAR OF INDEPENDENCE: ITS HISTORICAL SETTING.

By C. M. Woodhouse. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1952. Pp. x, 167. Trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.)

THE author of this excellent study is well fitted for his task. In addition to his command of modern and classical Greek, he is able to draw upon his varied and invaluable experiences as head of the Allied military mission to the Greek guerrillas during the Second World War. These experiences left him with certain very definite opinions concerning Greek historical development, opinions which were forcefully presented in his earlier work, *Apple of Discord* (London, 1948), and which also crop out occasionally in the present study. A typical example is his statement that "The mass of the people became sincerely attached to the President [Capodistrias], just as they became attached to the similarly despotic benevolence of the dictator General Metaxas a century later" (p. 133). Mr. Woodhouse obviously feels that "despotic benevolence" was to the public interest, but it does not follow, and it certainly cannot be demonstrated, that the "mass of the people" shared this view during either period. Fortunately, such generalizations are more than counterbalanced by the author's intimate knowledge of the Greek countryside and perceptive appreciation of the national folklore. The years he spent in the mountains during the Axis occupation are reflected in his admirable analysis of the geographic factors that explain the confused campaigning of the revolutionary war. Likewise the author uses most effectively the *Memoirs* of General Makriyiannes, who grew during the revo-

lutionary struggle from an illiterate peasant lad to a seasoned commander and a master of Greek primitive prose.

Mr. Woodhouse's aim is to "fit the Greek War of Independence into its dual context, both as part of the long stream of Greek history, and also as a major readjustment of the structure of Europe in the nineteenth century" (p. x). In accordance with this aim he devotes the first chapter, a full quarter of his study, to a summary and analysis of the Ottoman period. The remaining chapters deal with "The Year of Revolution, 1821," "The Consolidation of Independence, 1822-1827," and "The Recognition of Independence, 1827-1832." He attempts throughout to show the interaction of the developments, intellectual as well as diplomatic, in Greece and in the rest of Europe. The result is a fresh and thoughtful reinterpretation of the Greek Revolution—by all odds the best general account available in English.

Precisely because this study is written with imagination and insight, it leaves the reader with a keener realization of how little we really know about this subject. Mr. Woodhouse states at the outset that "Circumstances have almost entirely ruled out any original research, though much remains to be done" (p. x). The latter phrase deserves emphasis. Until very recently, trained Greek historians tended to concentrate their attention to the most brilliant periods of their history, the ancient and the Byzantine. Consequently the historiography of the Greek Revolution is now at about the same stage as that of the American Revolution at the turn of the century. It is probably safe to say that no period of modern European history remains as obscure as the four centuries of Ottoman rule in Greece and throughout the Balkans. Inevitably the available histories of the various national uprisings appear to be written in a vacuum, lacking the most essential data for an understanding of the historical background. The Greek and other Balkan national uprisings still await their Beards, Jamesons, and Schlesingers.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

MARX AGAINST THE PEASANT: A STUDY IN SOCIAL DOGMATISM.

By *David Mitrany*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 301. \$4.50.)

RUMANIA: POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF AN AGRARIAN STATE. By

Henry L. Roberts. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 414. \$6.00.)

THE two books under review complement each other remarkably. Professor Mitrany has written a perceptive and sometimes emotional essay on the consequences arising from the Marxist condemnation of the peasant way of life. His "study in social dogmatism" perforce sweeps over the entire peasant world of Russia and eastern Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pro-

fessor Roberts has written a careful and balanced case history of a single peasant country, Rumania, demonstrating the intimate relationship between economics and politics. He has concentrated upon the period since the First World War. This he was enabled to do largely because Professor Mitrany himself had written his classic *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania* (1930), a debt which Roberts gratefully acknowledges. Moreover, Mitrany was one of Roberts' examiners at Oxford, when *Rumania*, originally a thesis, was presented. Roberts' book not only provides us with a wealth of detail of the kind which Mitrany was compelled to omit in his present study, but also with penetrating analysis, which occasionally shakes some of Mitrany's chief theses.

In the first portion of his book, Mitrany discusses the ideological conflict between the agrarian views of the Marxists and those of the Populists. In Part Two, he analyzes the "Marxist" revolution in Russia and subsequent Soviet agrarian policy. In Part Three he deals with the "peasant" revolution, brought about elsewhere in eastern Europe by the land reforms after World War I, and the emergence of peasant parties into political life. His last section he devotes to the Fascist appeals to peasants before and during World War II, and to the postwar triumph over the peasant of the USSR and its satellite native Communist parties. Roberts begins with the Rumanian peasant revolt of 1907 and sketches the economic, social, and political background of the conflict between peasant and landowner. He devotes a chapter to the First World War and the postwar land reform, and two to the economic framework within which political developments between the wars took place: rural overpopulation and agricultural underproduction, the development of industry and foreign trade, national finance, and standard of living. Then, in the second portion of his book, he turns to politics, always with special reference to the agrarian question, and deals successively with the Liberal period (1922-28), the "Peasantist" period (1928-30), the three sub-periods of King Carol's rule (1930-40), culminating in the royal dictatorship of 1938-40, the Fascist period (1940-44), and the Communist period (since 1944). In each period, he first summarizes political developments, and then discusses the history, traditions, ideology, and policies (especially agrarian) of the ruling political group.

As Mitrany says, Marx's views on the peasant were "less an economic program than a historical decree" (p. 14). His conclusions were based on study limited to western Europe, and were rooted in contempt for the peasant. Small holdings, he declared, were inconsistent with maximum production, and he confidently pronounced the peasant's doom, predicting large-scale concentration of farms. The prophecy was confounded when small holdings multiplied in number. Though Kautsky and others attempted to modify Marx's views to fit the facts, the socialists of western Europe found themselves in a painful dilemma, sharpened by their inexperience in rural affairs. If capitalist concentration was a necessary prelude to the revolution, then socialists should help speed the demise of the peasant farm.

But this would totally alienate the peasant, on whose neutrality at least the socialists must count for the revolution itself. As a matter of tactics, by the 1890's many Social Democratic politicians in the West were (usually in vain) seeking peasant support without reference to Marxist doctrine, although the theoreticians continued to proclaim it. In the West, the peasants were therefore pushed from liberalism to conservatism when the workers moved from liberalism to socialism. But, in the East, where industrialism was so much less advanced, it was the Populists who took the lead as the agrarian opponents of Marx.

In the East, Lenin knew that peasant support would be needed for the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Rumanian Marxist, Dobrogeanu-Gherea, argued (1910) that on the east European latifundia the peasant, though formally emancipated, now lived in "neo-serfdom (neo-iobăgia)," a system which combined the worst in feudalism with the worst in capitalism. Production was still organized in servile fashion, although serfdom was now disguised in contractual forms: the effect of capitalism on a simple peasant society. Gherea favored the breakup of the large estates, and the encouragement of small-scale peasant farming, as a step toward the necessary formation of capitalism. Mitrany calls his analysis "correct" (p. 27), and Roberts too pays tribute to him at greater length (pp. 276 ff.). Unlike Marx or Lenin, Gherea genuinely sympathized with the peasant; but, as a Marxist, he naturally favored industrialization, and so had no use for the early Populist ideal of an agrarian society. Where Lenin was interested in revolution, Gherea was interested in socialism. But his views appealed neither to the middle classes nor to the peasants. This significant theorist is now adequately introduced to most westerners for the first time.

Harking back to the Slavophil affection for the peasant commune (whose uniqueness and promise Marx himself on one famous occasion admitted) the Populists maintained that the commune pointed the way to better production, and was thus an end in itself. This the Marxists could never accept. From its native habitat, Russia, Populism spread even into Rumania, despite the anti-Slavic and pro-western cultural orientation of most Rumanian intellectuals. To the Rumanian Populist, Stere, Marxism was a "mystic dogma," which disregarded the social characteristics of peasant countries (Mitrany, p. 39; Roberts, pp. 143 ff.). Stere proclaimed that Rumania could not follow western Europe in industrialization, and called instead for household and craft industries. These early Populists believed that co-operatives of all sorts should assist their ideal society of peasant small-holders. While the Marxists were interested in production, the Populists were interested in the producers. Yet later, neo-Populists and Social Revolutionaries in Russia accepted much of Marxist doctrine with regard to industrial development. In the countryside, however, they still opposed class warfare and favored nationalization of the land, but only as a step toward "equality in the right of use," a concept which infuriated the Marxists. Thus the two rival programs for revolution faced each other.

Concentrating as he is upon the ideological cleavage between Marxism and Populism, and understandably Populist in his sympathies, Mitrany does not look far below the surface of the rival social doctrines. But Roberts does, in his sympathetic yet acute critique of Stere:

... while he could point to the undoubted obstacles confronting Rumania in any attempt to emulate the West, the actual fact was that Rumania had long since been caught in the toils of the West; the cash nexus had even penetrated agriculture through the commerce in cereals and had ... contributed to the serious plight of the peasantry. His ideal of a prosperous small peasant was based on the models of Denmark and Switzerland—favorite paradigms of the populists—the structure of whose economies was altogether different from that of Rumania. ... Any industry run on such an intermittent basis [as household crafts pursued during the winter months] would be forced to remain on a primitive and inefficient level. ... Stere's theory really provides no adequate solution to the problem of improving the level of agriculture or the status of the peasant. In addition to these shortcomings, Stere's populism contained certain very dangerous implications. ... Along with his desire for a rural democracy and a rustic economy, there is also the persistent note of organic nationalism, with its eloquent love of the "national genius," embodied in the Rumanian peasant, its fear of the alien cultural and economic intrusion of the Jew, its belief that Rumania had its own destiny to fulfill, and its desire to avoid the Golgotha of capitalism. In Stere these elements appeared in a relatively moderate and balanced guise, but taken together and intensified they closely resemble the driving impulses of the Iron Guard. [Roberts, p. 146.]

These sobering considerations provide a needed corrective to Mitrany's views.

Mitrany describes the Russian revolution as "a diffused peasant revolution which the Bolsheviks took in hand and organized" (p. 59), and traces Soviet agrarian doctrines and policies through the immediate post-revolutionary period of confusion and distress, when "the peasant revolution became detached from the political revolution" (p. 66), through the NEP and the grim years of collectivization. But the Russian peasant has not yet been totally transformed "in the spirit of proletarian socialism," though the process is well under way. The contrast between town and country has not been eliminated, but greater "civic uniformity" has been achieved by industrialization, which has so markedly increased the ratio of workers to peasants. Yet the very collectivization of the Russian peasants has given them a common group interest, to which the state has had to make concessions. Mitrany pointedly asks whether the horrors of class warfare might not have been avoided if the Populist ideal had been followed. Though there is nothing new in this portion of his book, Mitrany's writing is never banal.

Outside Russia, in all of eastern Europe but Hungary, the post-World War I governments put through land reforms because they feared the spread of Bolshevism. Gherea's "neo-serfdom" came to an end, as the landowners, in exchange for only minimal compensation, gave up their lands in order, Mitrany maintains, to hold on to political power. The disappearance of the landlords as the dominant

class marked a social revolution. The change-over from farming for the market to subsistence farming marked an economic revolution. And the emergence of the peasant into political life marked a political revolution. Yet no reform took place in agriculture. Rural overpopulation increased; dwarf holdings, scattered strips, and backward methods were characteristic. By their failure to improve transportation, their efforts to encourage grain crops rather than to diversify production, and their programs of assistance to industry, the governments neglected the peasant. Ex-landowners, Mitrany declares, crowded into the swollen bureaucracies and armies, squandered money on westernizing the capital cities, and clamored for subsidies for their new industrial enterprises, usually heavy industry instead of the decentralized or domestic processing industries which would have relieved rural unemployment. Parts of this generalization may perhaps be questioned: the Belgrade and Sofia speculators were not ex-landlords, since neither Serbia nor Bulgaria had had such a class; they were ex-peasants. But it is true that everywhere new indirect taxes and heavy protective import duties struck at the peasant's pocketbook. The mercantilist state took over the landlord's old role as exploiter of the peasantry. Yet because private ownership for the peasant is the equivalent of social security for the worker, the peasant farming for subsistence was able to weather the world agricultural crisis. Because the state usually interfered in the management of co-operatives, and because co-operatives too often confined themselves to assisting sales or providing credits, the east European peasant never got the true "cooperative society" for which he longed, one in which the producers' co-operative would still have been sharply differentiated from a *kolkhoz* by its decentralized local management.

The emergence of articulate and strong peasant parties, Mitrany declares, frightened the ruling groups, and led them to flout the democratic provisions of the national constitutions. As economic conditions worsened during the depression, and peasant discontent increased, governments stepped up their repressive measures until they became dictatorships: "bureaucratic and military regimes, as brittle as they were inefficient and oppressive" (p. 122). The crown, the army, the bureaucracy were joined by the Socialists, prisoners of Marxist dogma: "In one country after another, the Peasant groups were cheated of their legitimate claim to power. The process began with Hungary in 1919, continued with Bulgaria in 1923, with Poland in 1926, with Yugoslavia in 1929, and with Rumania in 1931" (p. 122). Unwilling to abandon democratic methods, opposed to chauvinism and anti-Semitism, the peasant parties fell victim to the corruption and violence of their enemies, and got no understanding or encouragement from the Western democracies.

Here Mitrany seriously oversimplifies. In Yugoslavia, for instance, the installation of a royal dictatorship in 1929 is attributable far more to the failure to solve the Croat-Serb, federalist-centralist political quarrel than to any fear felt by the "ruling group" for the peasant parties: the compelling issues were not social but

"national"; the cleavage came not along class but along ethnic lines. In Rumania, as Roberts shows (pp. 135 ff.) the failure of the National Peasants in office was partly due to the negativism and personal puritanism of their leader, Maniu, who resigned when King Carol brought Madame Lupescu back to the country. It was partly due to the fact that his party was a fusion of Transylvanian and Old Kingdom parties with different origins and aims. It was much hastened by the beginnings of the depression. But even more damaging to Mitrany's thesis is the fact that the Rumanian National Peasant party by 1930 no longer supported the kind of program he attributes to it. Indeed, it had ceased to regard the peasant as its main concern. Its leaders "supported the free competition of an idealized capitalism" (Roberts, p. 166), "ceased to be 'peasants,'" (p. 167), and lost much of their peasant following to the Iron Guard. Why? Partly, as Mitrany also realizes, because it is difficult to mobilize peasant opinion; but also because, as Roberts says:

Those qualities which are celebrated in the peasant—the primordial qualities, the roots planted deep in the earth—represent everything which the modern world is not. In so far as the peasant is defined in these terms, he provides no clue to the solution of the manifold problems confronting contemporary society.

As soon as the peasant parties came to power, they stopped being peasant parties. Many of their leaders, moreover, displayed precisely that chauvinism and anti-Semitism of which Mitrany absolves them.

In the period since World War II the Russians and their native Communist puppets, following Leninist tactics, have fostered class warfare in the east European countryside, rushed through new "land reforms," and employed ruthless pressure to speed collectivization. The stages of the Russian experience have been speeded up, especially since the Tito-Stalin break of 1948. Innovations for tactical purposes are found in the "labor cooperative," where farming is collectivized but the land not nationalized, and in the use of "persuasion" to achieve "voluntary" membership. But Marxist principles have remained unchanged and have never triumphed anywhere naturally, without the use of force. Neo-serfdom is with us once again. This is the main lesson of Mitrany's stimulating book, which is recommended, with reservations as noted, to student and general reader alike.

About Roberts' book this reviewer feels no reservations whatever. Scholarly in his approach to his (often unsatisfactory) materials, cautious and responsible in interpreting them, and never impatient with his problem, he has produced the best book in any language on a single Balkan country, and the best study known to me of the impact of Western industrial society upon eastern Europe. In his conclusion, he exercises the right he has so well earned, and asks the general question: how is a backward country to advance? He recommends that the advanced countries offer "active and enlightened help," in spite of the difficult readjustments necessary in foreign trade and investment policies, and in spite of the risk that success itself may arouse more hatred than good will: a risk intensi-

fied by the Soviet appeal to backward societies, yet a risk that must be taken. Anybody interested in the relations between the United States and the Islamic and Asian worlds will find Roberts' book of compelling interest.

Harvard University

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

THE TRUTH ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA. By P. D. Ostović. With an Introduction by Ivan Meštrović. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1952. Pp. xxiii, 300. \$3.50.)

SCORES of volumes have appeared on Yugoslavia since the end of the war. Most of these fall into one of two categories. Some are strongly pro-Tito, while the majority are vehemently opposed to the Yugoslav dictator. The situation in the land of the South Slavs has not been clarified by these but rather beclouded. There is, however, still another class of books: those few which have set aside pride and prejudice in order to present a clear and reliable account of Yugoslav developments. To this latter group belongs *The Truth about Yugoslavia* by P. D. Ostović.

Ostović, as secretary of the Yugoslav Committee in London, helped to lay the groundwork for the first Yugoslavia in 1918 and now, an emigré living in Syracuse, New York, relates the history of the Yugoslavs concisely and convincingly, from their migrations into the Balkans in the sixth century through the first half of the twentieth. The book is divided into three parts. Part One deals with the development of the individual South Slavic groups (Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Slovenes) from their beginnings to 1918. Unfortunately, this section is far too abbreviated (thirty-seven pages) to do justice to a thousand years of history of five distinct peoples. As a result, the narrative is sketchy and uneven. In contrast, an inordinate number of pages, in Part Two, is devoted to the unification movement, especially during the war years, creating a verbose, repetitious, and somewhat unbalanced account. Perhaps Ostović is to be excused here as he himself participated in this great drama and undoubtedly looks upon it with some nostalgia. The remainder of this section is given over to the first Yugoslavia, the author lucidly and sharply describing the Serbo-Croat rivalry and ably interpreting the important issues and controversies that led to the tragedy of 1941. Part Three takes up the stirring events of World War II and the exciting story of Communist Yugoslavia. The many controversial points touched upon, such as the Tito-Mihajlović feud, are certain to evoke a stream of criticism, as opinions on these delicate subjects will always conflict, but the author handles them with consummate skill, employing sound logic, abundant documentation, and extraordinary objectivity.

Ostović has not, however, produced a flawless volume. The Slovenes are much neglected. Indeed, as Ivan Meštrović, the universally known Yugoslav sculptor,

suggests in the stimulating foreword, this work might appropriately be called "Croatia and Serbia." The discussions of cultural backgrounds and economic foundations are shallow and weak. Translations are not always the best, as illustrated in the rendering of *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (the literary masterpiece of Andrija Kačić-Miošić) into "Pleasant Chat about the Slavonic Peoples"; a more accurate translation would be "Pious Homilies for Slavic People." Consistency in spelling is also lacking. Thus, the name of the ruling family of Yugoslavia appears as "Karageorgević" on page 156 and as "Karadjordjević" on page 168.

University of Miami

GERALD G. GOVORCHIN

THE EAGLE AND THE ROOTS. By *Louis Adamic*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1952. Pp. viii, 531. \$5.00.)

EARLY in 1949 the late Louis Adamic wanted to visit Russia, but as he never got a Soviet visa he spent instead some six months in his native Yugoslavia. Much had changed there since his former books had been written and his visit coincided with a fresh turn of things because of the Cominform's excommunication of Marshal Tito and his Communist regime. For the Yugoslav leaders that was obviously a time of great searching. Tito and his colleagues rummaged among their reminiscences for some explanation of the ambiguous and perilous position in which, after a great victory, they found themselves that summer; and in doing so in many frank talks over several months they unfolded before Mr. Adamic the story of their party's early political struggle between the two wars, of their great fight as the spearhead of the resistance movement during the war, and of their struggle as a victorious revolution to build up a Communist society against heavy odds within, the disapproval of the West, and now against a ruthless and mortifying ostracism by their own Communist East.

That is really the theme and substance of the whole book. It is not developed systematically but rather in episodes as they came up in some talk or incident of the moment, moving to and fro in space and in time. As such it is a highly skilled and effective job of reportage. It gives the best picture available so far of the rise and outlook of the Yugoslav Communist movement, though contributing nothing new to the story of the Tito regime. Curiously enough, it is not very enlightening even on the strange break with Russia, except insofar as it makes clear that Tito was already having his difficulties with Moscow during the Comintern period; and that his disappointments and doubts during their grim resistance, when Russia gave no help at all, became such as to lead him as early as 1942 to try to find out whether the West would accept his revolutionary regime.

For the rest the book is simply the story of the Yugoslav Communist movement as told by its present leaders, and Mr. Adamic has accepted it as such and

retells it with great effect. Perhaps that is not altogether surprising for it is clear that these men are deeply sincere, intelligent, and devoted to the task they had set themselves, but especially where Marshal Tito himself is concerned it is a picture without shadows. Mr. Adamic mentions some of the administrative and practical shortcomings of the present regime but the political side is reported without question. No other view intrudes. The story is completely and cheerfully one-sided. There is only a brief reference to the remarkable Peasant movement, which provided the real opposition throughout the interwar period, and whose leaders having suffered as much as the Communists at the hands of the royalist regime have fared no better under the new dispensation.

One might understand the uncritical sympathy which Louis Adamic felt for Tito in his new struggle for independence; it is so genially naïve. But such conviction as the book might have carried is spoiled by the many bitter and irresponsible things said about the policy of the West. It seems, for instance, that but for Henry Wallace, "the Pacelli-Churchill-Baruch-Dulles-Byrnes-Vandenberg-Spellman American policy" might have produced a "preventive war" in 1947 (pp. 72-73). Nothing is bad enough especially when it comes to England, the "corrupter" of Yugoslavia's government and culture—whatever that may mean. One might pass by many a silly statement, but what is one to make of a book which in one place (p. 483) says that it was the elaborate reports of Brigadier Fitzroy Maclean that convinced the Western leaders that Tito and his partisans were doing a terrific job and should be helped even if they were Communists, and in another place (p. 469) that the same Maclean did all he could to stop the Americans from passing supplies to Tito? Worse still, if Mihajlović helped the Germans, it was "with approval from London" (p. 447); and—supreme iniquity—a "certain foreign mission," i.e., the British, had a hand in arranging the German parachute attack on Tito's headquarters on May 25, 1944—the very day on which Mr. Churchill announced in the House of Commons that from then on support would no longer be given to Mihajlović but only to Tito—because "the Anglo-Americans wanted the Germans to liquidate us" (p. 459). Left-wing McCarthyism is no more reliable or helpful than the original brand and the editors of the volume, who have otherwise done a useful job, have done a poor service to the book and to the professional reputation of the writer by letting pass such vicious nonsense from the notes of Louis Adamic. No reviewer wants to have to write thus about the last book of a man who throughout his career approached his work with the heart of a good humanist.

Institute for Advanced Study

DAVID MITRANY

LA FORMATION DE L'EMPIRE RUSSE: ETUDES, NOTES ET DOCUMENTS. Volume I. By *Boris Nolde*. [Collection historique de l'Institut d'Etudes slaves, XV.] (Paris: Institut d'Etudes slaves. 1952. Pp. xii, 296.)

THE Centre national de la Recherche scientifique in France and Professor André Mazon, president of the Institut d'Etudes slaves, have done a great service to historical scholarship by approving the posthumous publication of this important work of the late Baron Boris Nolde. Although the manuscript was left unfinished by the author and the book is therefore rather fragmentary in places, and although a number of gaps have not been filled and some minor errors not corrected, the content is rich throughout, and out of the maze of single facts there emerges at the end of each chapter a perfectly clear general picture. The present volume deals with the absorption of the former khanate of Kazan and of the Ural region, including Bashkiria and western Siberia. Volume II—to appear in December, 1952—will include the Crimea, Bessarabia, and the Caucasus.

The title, *La formation de l'Empire russe*, may seem somewhat misleading to the reader; he might perhaps expect to find in the book, judging from its title, an over-all picture of the growth of Russian imperial institutions. The theme, as the author himself formulated it, is actually the study of the historical interrelation between the Russian core of the future empire and the regions assimilated in the process of the growth of that empire. In Nolde's opinion, this process cannot be described as a mechanical accumulation of territories and heterogeneous nationalities but should be studied as a gradual organic adjustment of the institutions of each newly annexed area to those of the empire. As he points out, in spite of its many harsh and oppressive measures, the Russian government showed, on the whole, much consideration to the interests and customs of the native peoples and tribes, and tried, on many occasions, to protect them against both the abuses of its local agents and the pressure of the incoming Russian settlers. The impact of the industrialization of the Ural region on its population—both Russian and native—is another important sociological problem treated by the author in a masterly way. As in all of Nolde's works, his conclusions are based on a careful study of the sources and lucid juridical analysis of laws and ordinances.

In conclusion, it would not be amiss to point out that as early as 1911 Nolde presented a historico-juridical study of similar problems encountered in the absorption into the empire of the peripheral states and regions along Russia's western borders, such as the Ukraine, Poland, Finland, the Baltic provinces, and Bessarabia (see B. Nolde, *Ocherki Russkogo Gosudarstvennogo Prava*, pp. 223–554). The latter study constitutes a valuable counterpart to the book now reviewed, and its publication in English or French would be highly desirable.

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

DER NATIONALE KAMPF DER KRIMTÜRKEN. By *Edige Kirimal*. (Emsdetten, Westf.: Verlag Lechte. 1952. Pp. xxxix, 374.)

THIS well-printed and excellently documented book will be of special interest to the student of recent nationalism in general and of the nationality problem in

Russia in particular. The Tartars of the Crimea—the author, who is one of them, prefers to call them Crimean Turks—formed an independent kingdom under their khans from 1428 to 1783, when the Crimean peninsula was conquered and annexed by the Russians. One of them, Ismail Bey Gasprinski (1851–1914), became the first reformer and modernizer of Islam in Russia through the articles “Russkoe musul’manstvo” (Russian Islam), which he published in 1881, and the inspirator of the Pan-Turkish or Pan-Turanian movement. After 1905 the Crimean Tartars shared in the general awakening of the “backward” or “dormant” nationalities of the Russian Empire, and in 1917 they entered, like the other nationalities, the struggle for cultural and territorial autonomy within a new free and federal Russia.

Dr. Kirimal, a disciple of Cafer Seydahmet Kirimer, the nationalist leader of the Crimean Tartars who lives today in Turkey, has reconstructed in great detail, from little-known original sources and from the testimony of the survivors, the dramatic events in the Crimea from February, 1917, to November, 1920. During those years the strategically and economically important peninsula became the battleground of the imperialism of White and Red Russians, of Ukrainians and Germans. With great heroism, and, on the whole, on an astonishingly high level of political consciousness, the Turkish-speaking Mohammedans of the Crimea, who formed the majority of the population outside the large cities, tried to establish their national existence. For the student of nationalism in general it will be most instructive to see how their speeches and actions faithfully reflected the general slogans and tempers of the nationalism of the time. They could not succeed against the overwhelming odds. The author makes it clear that the nationalism of the Crimean Turks had not only to fight the centralizing imperialism of Moscow, equally strong among “reactionaries,” “liberals,” and “socialists,” but also the claims and appetites of other nationalities which had suffered equally under Moscow’s domination.

Until 1929 the Bolshevik regime made great concessions to the nationalism of the Crimean Turks, as to that of all other, especially Oriental, peoples of the empire. The A.S.S.R. of the Crimea which was created in 1921 enjoyed, within the limits imposed by Soviet orthodoxy, a high degree of real autonomy; the Turkish language was spread, Turkish national literature, theaters and museums were promoted, so much so that “the Crimean Turks could consider themselves masters in their own house.” This favorable situation, however, changed completely in 1929, with the collectivization of agriculture and the sovietization of the local administration. Dr. Kirimal shows, with scholarly objectivity, the initial advantages of the Bolshevik regime for the nationalities of the empire. What he has to say about the N.E.P. period, “fortunate” in many ways, and about the moral and economic disaster brought about by Stalin’s policy after 1928, applies of course not alone to the Crimean Turks.

The spirit of resistance was as little broken among the Crimean Turks by

the unprecedented terror of the 1930's as among the other non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. The German occupation of the Crimea gave to the Crimean Turks new hopes. The senseless barbarism of the policy pursued by the Germans in eastern Europe quickly dashed these hopes. Dr. Kirimal, who tried to plead the Crimean cause in Germany during World War II, throws an interesting light on the German attitude and does it with great restraint. Hitler intended to "evacuate" all the Crimeans after victory and to settle the strategically important peninsula with Germans. In typical nationalist fashion he recalled that 1500 years ago the Crimea had been inhabited by the Goths. Simferopol was to be renamed Gotenburg and Sevastopol, Theodorichhafen. Hitler was unable to realize his dreams, and Stalin became his legitimate successor. After the latter's victory, the Crimean Turks were all "evacuated" from their homeland, and until now their present habitat and destiny has remained one of the many mysteries of the impenetrable empire. All traces of their historical existence have been erased. Their towns and villages have been resettled by Russians. It is doubtful whether these circumstances will ever allow the re-creation of Turkish life in the Crimea, as Dr. Kirimal hopes. In the meantime he has erected to his compatriots a literary monument, which with its carefully prepared bibliography, indexes, illustrations, and maps will be welcomed as a true contribution to scholarship.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

SEVEN BRITONS IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA, 1698-1812. Edited by *Peter Putnam*. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume VII.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xxxiv, 424. \$7.50.)

A STUDENT of history can hardly disregard the observations of visitors to a country if he is to have a complete picture of the conditions in any given period in the historical experience of the people. This is especially true if the observers had an opportunity not only to see the country but to have close contact with those actively participating in its affairs. Because of this, Peter Putnam's "public opinion poll" of the impressions of seven Britons who visited Russia during the eighteenth century is indeed an interesting and commendable effort. Out of the considerable number of British men and women who went to Russia during this period he made a most careful selection of seven men of varying social, economic, and intellectual backgrounds who, because of their differing interests and propensities, wrote on many facets of Russian life.

The book is an anthology, the excerpts from the writings of each man being preceded by a biographical sketch and critical analysis by the editor. However, like all anthologies, the excerpts sometimes fail to give continuity, and both experience and excerpts may be of such a nature as to give a one-sided picture. Besides, in the case of this particular work, all the impressions are those of Britons who were using the same criterion and thus could not help presenting Russia, by

comparison, in a poor light. There can be no question as to the wretched conditions of Russian peasantry in the eighteenth century, yet one may wonder how much any of the British travelers knew of peasant life elsewhere in Europe, or even in England itself.

Only two Britons in Russia actually came into contact with Russian peasants: John Perry, a hydraulic engineer for Peter the Great, and Jonas Hanway, a merchant of the Russia Company. The first employed great numbers of workers, and the second, traveling across Russia and along the Volga to Persia, needed the help of peasants in moving merchandise. Even these two, in their privileged position, dealt primarily with the upper stratum and officials. The other five knew only the nobility of Russia and could judge the condition of the people only by contrasting their life with that of the aristocracy and court.

Mr. Putnam's commentaries, while generally astute, sometimes presume too great a knowledge of Russian history on the part of the reader. He should, for instance, have explained living conditions in Russia during the eighteenth century, and perhaps indicated, in the light of present-day knowledge, why this or that Briton reacted to certain incidents as he did. After all, their contact during this period, and especially toward the end of the century, was mostly with leading Russians who were convinced of the superiority of everything British, and aware of her imperial aspirations. It would have been proper to indicate the obvious failure of Sir James Harris to fathom the plans of Catherine II, as well as his inability to evaluate correctly her diplomatic skill. Her, and especially Prince Potemkin's, plans for southern expansion were not "Eastern Chimera" but evidence of a vital interest of the new empire. Mr. Putnam points out that only Pitt, among all British statesmen, had the sagacity to foresee the coming collision between the two empires, while it is not at all impossible that Catherine II and her lieutenants were cognizant of the ability of Britain to prevent Russian expansion. As for General Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, one should not be misled as to his proper place in Russian history by his opinion of himself. Of the seven, William Coxe's observations are the most objective and valuable.

With these relatively few omissions and somewhat distracting variations in spelling, the anthology is an interesting and even provocative work.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE W. ANDERSON

THE ANARCHIST PRINCE: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF PETER KROPOTKIN. By *George Woodcock* and *Ivan Avakumovic*. (London: T. V. Boardman and Company. 1950. Pp. 463. 21s.)

THE first part of this full-length biography of Kropotkin is based largely on his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*. While it cannot vie with the latter in dramatic interest or literary excellence, it is a well-rounded account of Kropotkin's early

Russian years in which his own narrative has been supplemented by other biographical material. The authors have been less successful in their attempt to relate young Kropotkin's ideas and activities with the historical background. What they have to say about mid-nineteenth century Russia does not go beyond outworn clichés, and some of their statements are simply inaccurate. Thus the Polish insurrection of 1863 could not have meant "the end of the schemes of reforms" (p. 58) as, except for the Emancipation, all the major reforms of Alexander II came after that date. Students of Russian intellectual history will be startled by the assertion that the study of German philosophy was encouraged by Nicholas I and his advisers (pp. 11-12).

From 1876 on (the year of his escape from Russia), Kropotkin's life can be divided into three periods: a decade of revolutionary activity in the West, a long sojourn in England (1886-1917) which the authors describe as the "period of the saintly scholar," and the last four years (1917-21) when Kropotkin lived in revolutionary Russia in the unhappy position of a "neglected sage." In the corresponding chapters of the book, the reader will find much interesting and valuable material on Kropotkin's part in the international anarchist movement, his attitude toward the political developments in Russia, his English contacts, and his journeys to North America. The account of Kropotkin's activities as an "agitator" reads like a story of frustration. The authors admit that since about 1890 Kropotkin began to "withdraw from the closer work of the movement" becoming more and more a "retired theoretician." "While he continued to believe that anarchism was ready for the world, he became less convinced that the world was ready for anarchism" (p. 244). Paradoxically, the least ready part of the world turned out to be Kropotkin's own native land which happened to be also the country of Bakunin and Tolstoy. The authors note the fact that "anarchism has always been a relatively small movement in Russia," but they do not offer any explanation. The uneventful nature of Kropotkin's personal life during this period gives his biographers an ample opportunity to discuss at some length his major theoretical writings, and this is one of the valuable features of the book.

While full of admiration for Kropotkin the authors do not hesitate to censure him rather severely for those of his views which to them are a deviation from orthodox anarchism. They strongly disapprove of his pro-Entente attitude during the First World War, and they ascribe it to a "looseness of thought" that "had led him to identify peoples with states and think in national terms." They are equally critical of the moral support Kropotkin gave the Russian Provisional Government, of his readiness to accept the authority of the Constituent Assembly, and of his advocacy of a federal republic for Russia. This criticism, however, loses a good deal of strength as their own interpretation of revolutionary events is highly unrealistic, and as they fail to formulate clearly a feasible alternative policy.

Harvard University

MICHAEL KARPOVICH

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. Volume II, 1925-1932.

Selected and edited by *Jane Degas*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xxi, 560. \$9.00.)

THIS second volume is a worthy successor to its predecessor, also competently edited by Jane Degas and issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Both volumes, to be sure, suffer from the same defects, which are in no sense the fault of the editor but are inherent in the plan of the work. Of necessity, they represent a selection, not the complete picture. Any attempt at interpretation is precluded by the terms of the institute's charter, and strict adherence to chronological sequence, without any index or cross reference, makes particular threads very difficult to follow. All the material included has been previously published in sources not difficult of access to the student who has command of the Russian language. The editor has apparently been at pains to collate variant versions of the documents included; thus, the version of Stalin's speeches given in his collected works has been checked against the original versions as they appeared in official documents, and discrepancies of any significance have been noted. Yet the thoroughgoing student of Russian foreign policy will scarcely be able to rely on this selection, meticulous as the work of the editor has been.

Any student will need to read the documents here reproduced with the greatest care. For example, among the thirty-four items under the year 1925 only three give any hint at all of Soviet anxiety lest Locarno undo Rapallo; only in retrospective documents of later years is suggested the vital importance Russia attached to the German connection. Similarly, although ostensibly this volume covers the eight years 1924-1932, only one fifth of the space is devoted to the last three of those years; consequently, the changing mood of the Soviet Union does not stand out with any clarity; much less is it possible to perceive any suggestion of the extent to which the internal strains attendant on the Five Year Plan affected its external attitudes.

On the other hand, the editor is to be congratulated on her success in presenting an account of Russian foreign policy, not perhaps as it actually was but as the Soviet authorities currently wished the world and their own subjects to see it, at the same time in avoiding an interminable and repetitive series of diplomatic notes and propaganda speeches. Repetition, certainly, there is, for Soviet leadership has shown remarkable skill in adapting unvarying slogans to a great diversity of cases. Constant emphasis on the allegedly ever-mounting danger of war (with no apparent suspicion of the quarter from which war was actually to come) and of the Soviet's firm stand for an aggressive peace, on Soviet sympathy for colonial and other victims of "Anglo-American imperialism," and on the building of "socialism" in Russia, less for its own sake than to give leverage for world revolution, were recurrent themes. No matter what wholly unanticipated turn the actual situation, whether in Europe or in the East, might currently be causing in Russian

policy, these phrases were somehow woven into every statement. Despite this difficulty, the editor, by judicious selection, has managed to winnow most of the grain from the chaff, particularly for the years 1925-1928, presenting considerable official rationalization while still adumbrating changes in the actual line pursued.

Brooklyn College

JESSE D. CLARKSON

THE PERSIAN CORRIDOR AND AID TO RUSSIA. By T. H. Vail Motter. [United States Army in World War II: The Middle East Theater.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1952. Pp. xvii, 545. \$3.50.)

THIS substantial volume by a competent scholar is well written, solidly documented, and buttressed by a useful set of charts, graphs, and maps. It is a credit to the Army's historical program. The theme is the magnificent *tour de force* by which the United States Army transported over 4,000,000 tons of lend-lease aid to Russia through the Persian Corridor during World War II. Following a brief period in 1941-42 when it served as an auxiliary to Britain in certain construction and assembly tasks in Iraq and Iran, the Army took over full responsibility for the transport of lend-lease goods through the Gulf ports to delivery points in northern Iran. Utilizing first a Motor Transport Service and then, increasingly, the Iranian State Railway, the Corridor at its peak was second among the five routes to the USSR, carrying nearly one fourth of the total lend-lease tonnage to the Soviet Union. A secondary activity of the United States, treated at some length by Dr. Motter, was the sending of two military missions to Iran at her request to strengthen her army and gendarmerie.

In the development of his subject the author does a splendid job, for the story is intrinsically complex. However, the nonmilitary reader will find tedious the great attention given to matters of command and operational relationships and logistical planning, while recognizing, of course, the value of this record for future Army planners. Despite this, Motter's work taken as a whole underlines some very basic and important problems of general interest. Most obvious is the vast complexity of the Corridor operation. This was apparent in the constant flux of command and operational organization and in the tenuous and uncertain relationships existing between the American forces and those of her allies. The problems of American co-operation in a distant, disordered, and largely unknown land with two allies whose relationships were clouded by historic antagonism in the area were made even more difficult by the overriding urgency of speed. As a newcomer with few acknowledged interests in Iran, America's problem was also doubly delicate. To compound the difficulty Persian Corridor activities were determined largely by the ebb and flow of battle in distant areas which often necessitated swift changes in priorities and methods. Yet in spite of a vast array of obstacles the fundamental fact of the war effort in this area was its success, due

chiefly, as Motter makes clear, to the genuine enthusiasm of America for its task—for Russia even then was a difficult and demanding partner.

Re-emphasized in this account is the fundamental conflict of Russia and Britain in the Middle East. The war underscored the factor that has driven Russia since the eighteenth century to feel a special attraction toward the Persian Gulf. But equally evident was Britain's reluctance to relinquish her historic interest in the same region. For example, she was quite sensitive to the presence of Russian troops in the British zone of southern Iran. On the other hand, Russia was, if anything, even more adamant in her refusal to permit British (or American) troops in the Soviet sector.

Perhaps more significant for the future are the indications during the course of our operations in the Corridor of a growing American awareness of its own interests in the Middle East and a maturing sense of responsibility for the stability of Iran. This disturbance of the traditional balance of power was witnessed with mixed feelings by all four of the states involved.

Denison University

MORTON B. STRATTON

Far Eastern History

BRITISH TRADE AND THE OPENING OF CHINA, 1800-42. By *Michael Greenberg*. Formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 238. \$4.00.)

In one sense Michael Greenberg's book will serve as a companion piece to Nathan Pelcovits' *Old China Hands and the Foreign Office*. While the latter chronicles the unsuccessful attempt of British merchants in China to force the Foreign Office to adopt a more "forward" policy in the Middle Kingdom during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Greenberg's book, in a more limited fashion, describes the successful attempt of private British merchants in China to enlist the support of the British government in the struggle against the monopoly of the East India Company during the early decades of the same century.

Greenberg does more, however, than merely describe this struggle. The core of his book is a technical analysis of the nature of British trade in China prior to the Opium War of 1839-42. But, whereas earlier accounts of British trade with China have usually been based upon the records of the British East India Company, e.g. H. B. Morse's *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading with China, 1635-1834*, and thus have described only one facet, and perhaps a misleading one, of the China trade, the present author has concerned himself almost exclusively with the China trade as reflected in the papers of the largest of the private firms at Canton, the Jardine Matheson Company.

The first seventy-odd pages of the book are devoted to the general nature of the trade and the conditions within which the British merchants at Canton operated prior to 1834, the date upon which the East India Company was dissolved. Of particular concern to Mr. Greenberg are: the extent to which private British trade had, by the early nineteenth century, become the "keystone" of the entire structure; the increasingly energetic efforts of the private merchants to end the monopoly of the East India Company; the workings of the Cohong system at Canton through which the merchants were forced to operate and which Greenberg finds was of such a nature "that business could be dispatched [there] with greater ease and facility . . . than anywhere else in the world"; the most outstanding weakness in the Cohong system—the susceptibility of the Hong merchants to frequent bankruptcy; and the fact that by the 1830's the Honorable Company was prepared to accept the Canton system while the private merchants were calling for its dissolution.

With the above as background Mr. Greenberg then proceeds to a detailed and somewhat technical analysis of the trade itself, its specific constituents, and the organization and financing of the operation. A separate chapter is devoted to opium, which, while it was imported into China exclusively by private traders, performed a key role in the financing of the company's tea trade. The final two chapters are concerned with the dissolution of the East India Company and its consequences, one of which was, of course, the Opium War.

Mr. Greenberg set himself the task of describing the British trade with China prior to 1842 as seen through the eyes of the private traders at Canton. This he has done. But this is one side of the story only, as the author recognizes when he points out that he has used nothing but European sources. The Chinese side has yet to be told, and, until it is, the "opening" of China will never be fully understood.

This reviewer has only minor criticisms: the excessive use of the jargon of the economist; the archaic transliteration of Chinese words (Kuying [*sic*] for Ch'i-ying, Kishan for Ch'i-shan, Kinchae for Ch'in Ch'ai, etc.); a few questionable statements of fact (that the Opium War was formally begun in June, 1840, p. 206; that Canton surrendered to the British during the war, p. 209; the implication that the cession of Hong Kong to Britain stemmed directly from the Elliot-Ch'i-shan agreement of January, 1841, p. 213).

University of Maine

JOHN J. NOLDE

American History

AMERICA IN CRISIS: FOURTEEN CRUCIAL EPISODES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *Daniel Aaron*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1952. Pp. xiv, 363. \$4.00.)

THE fourteen essays in this volume were originally presented by their authors as public lectures at Bennington College during the winter of 1950-1951. The course, which was directed by Professor Daniel Aaron, was entitled "American Response to Crisis." Of the several lectures only three are directly concerned with foreign affairs on the ground that until recently American crises have been primarily domestic in nature. The term "crisis," indeed, is used broadly to cover crucial events which have influenced not only the political and economic life of the nation, but religion, medicine, education, art, and literature.

Although one might well argue that a number of important crises have been overlooked, the selection on the whole seems an excellent one for the purpose of the course. The essays themselves are both informative and interpretive with marked emphasis on the latter. Of the fourteen "crises" discussed several have long been recognized as such by students of American history. These include "Insurrection in Massachusetts" (Richard B. Morris), "South Carolina vs. the United States" (Louis Hartz), "John Brown's Private War" (C. Vann Woodward), "Manifest Destiny and the Philippines" (Richard Hofstadter), and "Woodrow Wilson's Tour" (Dexter Perkins). Somewhat more novel as discussions of "crises" are the essays dealing with "Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening" (Perry Miller), "The Yellow Fever Epidemics, 1793-1905" (Richard H. Shryock), "Horace Mann's Crusade" (Howard Mumford Jones), "Upheaval at Homestead" (Henry David), and "Rebellion in Art" (Meyer Schapiro). The crises of recent years are treated in "When the Banks Closed" (Walton H. Hamilton), "The Black Blizzards" (Paul B. Sears), "Black Legions on the March" (Morris Janowitz), and "The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the End of a Dream" (Norman Holmes Pearson).

In all the essays the authors have stated clearly the nature of the issues involved and have endeavored to bring out, as far as possible, the response of the American people to the various crises discussed. This response has been sometimes apathetic and sometimes highly emotional, but not infrequently it has been constructive, emphasizing the resourcefulness and courage of the people as well as their ability to act collectively when the necessity arose. As might be expected our crises have brought out the worst and the best in American society. They have produced demagogues as well as great leaders and occasional martyrs. They have also given us a background of experience which, it was the hope of the course, might help the nation to meet the crises sure to come in the future.

Most of the essays are interesting and stimulating reading. Several, dealing with the more recent crises, offer interpretations of events which will undoubtedly concern the historian for years to come. Although Professor Aaron in his introduction partially meets the need, a concluding essay summarizing and analyzing the "American Response to Crisis" as described in the essays might have been helpful to the reader.

Dartmouth College

W. R. WATERMAN

CAVALIER IN THE WILDERNESS: THE STORY OF THE EXPLORER AND TRADER, LOUIS JUCHEREAU DE ST. DENIS. By *Ross Phares*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 276. \$3.50.)

THE subject of this volume was Canadian born and bred. In 1700 he accompanied Bienville and the latter's brothers to Louisiana where for four decades he was to help determine the course of French and Spanish frontier relations and thereby to affect the future southern border of the United States. At first his activities centered about Pensacola and Mobile; then he was stationed on the lower Mississippi. During his last years he commanded a garrison at Natchitoches on the upper Red River. Operating from these various centers and apparently only in a subordinate capacity, he became familiar with the river systems and northern coast line of the Gulf of Mexico. Here his talents and personality quickly gave him a wide reputation, especially among the Indians. Over them, as fighter and diplomat, he maintained his prestige to the end. For this reason both French and Spanish officials sought his co-operation, and Jesuit and Franciscan used him to further their projects in peace and war, often to the detriment of specific national claims.

In keeping with the better interpreters of this tangled era of southwestern history, Mr. Phares considers intercolonial (i.e., contraband) trade as the chief object of St. Denis. He wished to build up the colonial empire of France in America but at the same time was not unmindful of his own interests. Frontier trade, a romantic marriage, a temporary shift in allegiance were means to this double but often conflicting purpose. He helped his Spanish in-laws occupy eastern Texas and at the same time furnished the Franciscan missions, therein established, with needed neophytes—all to the profit of French trading interests. He continued nearby on the Red River for his last twenty-five years and did much to keep alive the agencies he had initiated for both nations. Incidentally, his course greatly affected the diplomacy and warfare of the region during the next century.

Mr. Phares, as his text and bibliography reveal, has made extensive use of his materials, both printed and manuscript, but with limited use of footnotes. His familiarity with each section described and his attachment to the entire region and its early actors is apparent. He shows a desire to set forth their achievements in excellent diction and true perspective. His title and chapter headings should attract the general reader; his diction and style, the specialist. He has given us a scholarly and fascinating local study of an unusual character, set off by appropriate and dignified press work.

Evanston, Illinois

ISAAC JOSLIN COX

EDMUND PENDLETON, 1721-1803: A BIOGRAPHY. In two volumes. By *David John Mays*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 385; 462. \$15.00.)

THIS is a definitive biography of an outstanding statesman who figured prominently in the history of Virginia during the period of her maturity as a colony and her infancy as a commonwealth. Edmund Pendleton, one of the most noted lawyers of the Old Dominion, made an exceptional record as a lawmaker and a judge. His career as a legislator included active membership in the colonial House of Burgesses, two of the Virginia revolutionary conventions, the First and Second Continental Congresses, the Virginia House of Delegates, and the Virginia convention of 1788. After the new state government was organized he held the high judicial positions of first judge of the high court of chancery and later that of presiding judge of the court of appeals, the highest tribunal in the commonwealth.

Pendleton was of a conservative turn of mind and disliked everything that had the semblance of mob violence. Although he took a prominent part in the Revolution he was more of a separatist than a revolutionist. He was the author of the resolution adopted (May, 1776) by the Virginia convention instructing the Virginia delegates to offer a motion in that body declaring the independence of the colonies. Despite this advanced stand in favor of separation, he was not willing to go along with the left-wing leaders in favor of radical internal changes. He opposed Jefferson in the latter's fight for the separation of church and state and the abolition of entails and primogeniture. It was his conservatism that led him into the most serious mistake of his life—that of taking part in religious persecution. He was the presiding justice of the court in Caroline County when it sent Baptist ministers to jail on the ground that they were not licensed to preach. These decisions may have been in compliance with a narrow technical interpretation of the letter of the law, but they were not in accord with a liberal view of the spirit of the Toleration Act of 1689. This extreme and unwise conservatism was partially redeemed by his stand as a judge and a legislator on some other liberal measures and particularly by the active and efficient support that he gave Madison in the convention of 1788 in the fight for ratification by Virginia of the new federal Constitution.

This work is much more than a biography of Pendleton. It is a good political—and to some extent economic—history of Virginia during the late colonial and early commonwealth periods. In this way there is supplied an excellent framework into which the events of Pendleton's career are fitted. The distinctness of his portrait is accentuated by this colorful background. Much of this supplemental discussion is concerned with the noted statesmen of that day. Nearly all these great men are presented to the reader. They do not merely walk across the stage but each plays an important part in the stirring drama being enacted in America in that heroic age. Not a great deal of this factual material is new to specialists in the colonial field, but by being presented in an interesting way it is now made available to the general reader.

The most important original contribution made by the author is in his discussion of the "Robinson Affair." John Robinson, during a long tenure in office

as treasurer of the colony, had loaned public funds to a large number of planters, among them some of the leading men of the colony. As Pendleton was the administrator of the Robinson estate, the author has devoted considerable space—two chapters—to a discussion of this topic. He has assembled and organized sufficient evidence to settle for all time every question that has ever arisen regarding this rather unsavory incident.

These two volumes are the product of an immense amount of careful research in primary sources and constitute a work of sound scholarship. The material is well organized and clearly and interestingly presented. There are, however, some facts included which to this reviewer seem irrelevant to the narrative. In the chapters on the Robinson Affair especially, there is an overfullness of detail which becomes tedious. The author (as he should be) is an ardent admirer of his subject, and, in addition to a slight bias in Pendleton's favor, one senses a mild hostility to Patrick Henry. However, these few shortcomings are trivial in comparison with the merits of this valuable work.

West Virginia University

O. P. CHITWOOD

VALLEY FORGE: THE MAKING OF AN ARMY. By *Alfred Hoyt Bill*.
(New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. xii, 259. \$3.50.)

THE purpose of this excellent book is to elucidate the sequence of military events of which Valley Forge was the central phase, from the operations in New Jersey in 1777 (the testing of the ore, which seasoned the Americans to the fatigues and frustrations of war, the hardest part of soldiering) to the return to White Plains in late July, 1778, when, wrote Washington, both armies were brought back to the very point they set out from, "and that which was the offending party in the beginning is now reduced to the spade and pickaxe for defense."

At Valley Forge, synonym for misery and indomitable endurance, the American steel was tempered, particularly by von Steuben. Conditions there were yet one further proof of the strong disposition of the rebels to suffer all things rather than submit—ill-sheltered, half-clad, cold, hungry, and neglected by an ignorant, incapable, and jealous Congress. As Washington characteristically understated, "We are in a dreary kind of place, and uncomfortably provided." Their continuing presence at Valley Forge, as an army in being, nullified British capture of the capital and prevented the British from dominating the central states; restricted to little more than the ground they stood on, the British found subsistence a matter of considerable difficulty.

The low proportion of native-born Americans among the deserters, cited by Loyalists as proof that revolution was no longer supported, proved rather that most of them were sticking to the colors. No force of military police, however efficient, no courts-martial, could have saved the Army from anarchy and dissolu-

tion if this had not been so. In three long months of want, there was no general disobedience of orders among the troops in the continental service, excepting the refusal of two brigades to march against the enemy unless given supplies for the expedition. De Kalb rightly commented that no European army would have similarly endured such hardships. American morale was vastly higher than British: indeed, the British never solved the problem of how to keep their troops fresh and interested during long periods of inactivity. The series of reverses they suffered became too much for an impaired morale to sustain.

The Americans had both conviction and purpose—the making of an army: their morale benefited from strict discipline intelligently administered. Already veterans, they needed professional training, a herculean task. A uniform system of drill and maneuver had to be imposed upon a collection of regiments trained by a miscellany of methods; steadiness, exactness, accountability had all to be instilled. Valley Forge was the making of an army from a half-starved mob of ragged men: the proof of the forge was Monmouth Court House, where troops unsettled by one man's incapacity (Charles Lee) turned from disorder and retreat to disciplined resistance and moral victory.

Although Washington afterwards said that Howe would have won the war had he attacked Valley Forge, Mr. Bill quotes ample evidence to prove the contrary; indeed, he is constantly aware of the difficulties which restrained Howe in these months—inclement weather (and its effect on ammunition, communications, and intricate country), supply problems, and rebel activity (it took 3,000 men to protect wagon trains between Chester and Philadelphia, a distance of fifteen miles). Much light is thrown on Washington in the most testing months of his command: as Boudinot wrote in April, 1778, "Worthy man, he has both heart and hands full."

The value of the book would have been further heightened had Mr. Bill cited his evidence. There are no footnotes nor lists of sources chapter by chapter, but merely an extensive general bibliography.

University of Manchester

ERIC ROBSON

HENRY HAMILTON AND GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WITH THE UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF LIEUT. GOV. HENRY HAMILTON. Edited by *John D. Barnhart*. (Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta. 1951. Pp. 244. \$5.00.)

THIS attractive volume deals with one of the most dramatic and perennially interesting events of the American Revolution. Readers have come to expect scholarly excellence from the pen of Professor Barnhart. His preface indicates the thoroughness of his search for relevant manuscripts in widely scattered depositories. His introduction, giving a biographical sketch of Hamilton and an account of his service in the Detroit-Vincennes area in particular, is almost a monograph

in itself. Scholars will welcome the excellent bibliographical essay at the end of the volume.

Heretofore the main British source that the historian has had for the story of the American Revolution in the Detroit-Vincennes area has been Hamilton's report to his superior, General Sir Frederick Haldimand. His journal, however, is much more detailed and, having been written day by day, is more accurate and revealing and much less of an apologia.

Hamilton's account of the capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark is a valuable counterpoise to Clark's own story. The latter part of the journal, dealing with the 1,200-mile march of Hamilton and fellow prisoners from Vincennes to Williamsburg, Virginia, gives a good picture of the rawness of life on the western frontier, and the sufferings of its men and women. And yet, these people, who had borne the brunt of the savage attacks by the Indians and British, often treated Hamilton and his fellow prisoners on their journey to Williamsburg more humanely than did Governor Thomas Jefferson and his associates who lived in comfort and safety in the east. For example, Colonel Ingles and his wife and daughter kindly and hospitably received Hamilton and his party, though Mrs. Ingles herself had once been carried away as a prisoner by the Shawnee Indians. She miraculously escaped and, amid unspeakable hardships, traveled upwards of two hundred miles through the wilderness and found her way back home. But, observed Hamilton, "terror and distress had left so deep an impression on her mind that she appeared [*sic*] absorbed in a deep melancholy, and left the management of household concerns, & the reception of Strangers to her lovely daughter." The latter "sat at the head of the table, and did the honors with such an easy and gracefull simplicity as quite charmed us." In spite of the fact that Hamilton had ordered many forays to attack the Kentucky settlements, he and his fellow prisoners suffered no harm on the journey, though they were viewed at times with horror. On their arrival in the east, however, Governor Thomas Jefferson ordered Hamilton and Captain William La Mothe to be put in irons. These were not removed until Washington interceded.

After a careful weighing of the historical literature dealing with these thrilling events in the light of this new major source, Professor Barnhart in his introduction concludes that no major revisions need be made. Here and there, this *Journal* does supply some new, colorful details. Clark seems to lose and Hamilton gain, but only in a minor degree. Hamilton's *Journal* presents Clark as having a trace of vindictiveness and cruelty in his character, while Hamilton is presented as a cultured gentleman, but one who lost little sleep over sending out Indians to attack frontier settlers. Since this was his superior's decision, like a good soldier, Hamilton obeyed orders. The factors which resulted in the decisive British defeat and Clark's memorable victory are excellently stated and discussed. This is followed by a carefully reasoned judgment on the oft-debated question of the ultimate significance of the campaigns of Clark.

Knollenberg: Correspondence of Governor Samuel Ward 393

To supplement the brief account of Hamilton's early life in the introduction, the reader will wish for a similar page at its end sketching his life after he left America. The inclusion of one or two maps would have been welcomed, as would have been placing the footnotes at the bottom of the page instead of at the end of the text, and also a change in line lengths in the index for ease in reading.

Ohio University

A. T. VOLWILER

CORRESPONDENCE OF GOVERNOR SAMUEL WARD, MAY 1775-MARCH 1776. Edited by *Bernhard Knollenberg*. With a Genealogy of the Ward Family, compiled by *Clifford P. Monahan*. (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society. 1952. Pp. ix, 254. \$7.50.)

DURING the period covered by Mr. Knollenberg's present volume, May 26, 1775, to March 27, 1776, Samuel Ward was a delegate of Rhode Island to the Continental Congress. In E. C. Burnett's *Letters* are six letters (or parts thereof) from Ward that were written at this time. Mr. Knollenberg presents fifty-one that Burnett missed or excluded, adding thereby about seventy-five pages to the Burnett collection. Moreover, Burnett omitted about three fourths of the material in the six letters he included, whereas Mr. Knollenberg gives them in full. His work is a highly valuable addition to the literature of the Second Congress and of the Revolution as a whole.

Rhode Island was the first colony to authorize the death penalty for offenses against the American cause. It was the scene of General Lee's initial experiment with the loyalty oath; its officials helped to originate the negotiations leading toward diplomatic relations with France; its assembly first renounced allegiance to George III. It is a wonder that so small a colony produced so many notable men: Stephen Hopkins, Governor Nicholas Cooke, General Nathanael Greene, John Brown, and Ward himself. The subject matter of Mr. Knollenberg's volume is therefore both interesting and significant.

The inclusion of many letters addressed to Ward and many written by his nearest relatives gives a composite view of many sides of the Revolution. The correspondents include Franklin, Washington, Charles Lee, John Adams, Governor Cooke, and Nathanael Greene; the principal scenes are Philadelphia, the Army headquarters at Cambridge, Quebec, Providence, and the Ward farm near Westerly. The letters contain a wealth of information concerning Rhode Island politics, the proceedings of Congress, and Army affairs; especially as regards the need and quest for arms and powder. General Greene, already a disciple of Washington, wrote the first strong plea for independence (October 23, 1775). He also urged that the Army be used in such a way as to strengthen the American cause, politically. New light appears on the origins of General Lee's expedition to the South. The letters portray the distresses and adjustments that were oc-

casioned by the confusion and dislocations of the first year of the war. They reveal how a public figure managed to keep his private business affairs intact, and they show how new burdens unleashed new energies and forced the younger members of a family to assume responsibilities formerly borne by their elders. Ward appears as an intensely religious and patriotic man who gave his life for the American cause. His letters are unaffected, straightforward, informative, pointed, realistic, and readable. They reveal him as a practical, steadfast, hard-working, sensible man whose sanguine nature occasionally led him to indulge in undue optimism—"one of the most able, consistent and determined defenders of American liberty."

Mr. Knollenberg has supplied a factual, introductory sketch of Ward's career to 1775. Apart from their value to scholars, the letters are so interesting, so skillfully arranged, and so amply clarified with editorial notes that they tell a story that ought to be enjoyable to lay readers. Few historians strive more diligently for objectivity than Mr. Knollenberg. It is the material that sounds the patriotic notes and gives the pro-American views that are worthy of Bancroft.

Cornell University

CURTIS P. NETTELS

THE PURITAN HERITAGE. By *George M. Stephenson*, Professor of History, University of Minnesota. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. 282. \$3.50.)

DESPITE the title, this is not another book about the Puritans but contains a much broader and critical inquiry into the diffusion of a democratic form of Protestantism over the United States up to 1850. Thus, Dr. Stephenson, after a preliminary historical survey of European and American backgrounds, devotes his attention particularly to such agencies as the revivalist movements, the American Home Missionary Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union, the American Bible Society, and the Sabbatarian and temperance movements. Of necessity, the restricted size of the book scarcely permits adequate space for so many important topics, but the discussion is clear and interesting and the thesis can be stated in a few words. The volume is obviously intended for the nonspecialist, as far as the facts are concerned, and offers synthesis and exposition rather than novelty.

Dr. Stephenson considers the Puritan heritage as the hard core of militant American Protestantism of the democratic variety. Essentially, he stresses the historic ideal of the "priesthood of all believers," which stripped Puritanism of its theocratic trappings and gave the layman rather than the cleric a full partnership in the religious spirit. This anticlerical view is emphatically expressed at the outset: "It was to emancipate man from religion trammelled by ceremonies, formulas, and idols, administered by priests entangled in the meshes of legalism,

that Jesus Christ walked among men and made the sacrifice on the Cross." Elsewhere, he remarks, "In all generations theology has been used as an instrument for dispensing with religion. In America, pietism and democracy went hand in hand." Here is his essential thesis.

In demonstrating this idea, the author is led to defend movements that are hard to reconcile with modern ideas of democracy. Much of the revivalist and temperance movements that he describes have served anti-intellectualism and economic Bourbonism in recent times. Too many of the seekers after primitive Christianity free of "men's inventions" looked upon the universities as "stews of Anti-Christ" perilous to salvation. Puritan intellectualism suffered a major blow from the Great Awakening, even if the latter did produce its quota of seminaries and schools. The pathological extremes taken by the Great Awakening and its later successors left little room for a gospel of good works or a rational democracy. Billy Sunday and Billy Graham are the latter-day monuments to this trend—and they owe very little to the philosophy of Jonathan Edwards, except for the idea of simplifying the course of universal salvation.

Still, Dr. Stephenson, whose liberalism is unquestioned, offers a persuasive defense of his thesis. He shows the growth of an interdenominational and less doctrinaire spirit through such major experiments as the American Bible Society and the American Sunday School Union. He traces very interestingly the breakdown of Connecticut's Established Church, marked by the rise of the individual's privilege to "sign off" (a phrase of the times) from the official church to one of his choice. He believes that temperance reforms were "among others which caused pietists and puritans in many lands to cast longing glances towards the New World and its free and humanitarian institutions." Unfortunately, there is too little use of sociological, economic, and cultural factors (except for immigration in which the author is very adept) to explain the course of American Protestantism such as urban secularizing influences, the Enlightenment, Romanticism, and the Industrial Revolution. But within the limits that Dr. Stephenson has prescribed for himself, he has written a provocative book that will interest all those who have tried to build a synthesis in the field of American religious history.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

THE NEGRO FREEDMAN: THE LIFE CONDITIONS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE EARLY YEARS AFTER EMANCIPATION. By Henderson H. Donald. (New York: Henry Schuman. 1952. Pp. 270. \$4.00.)

HERE is a book the like of which will probably not be written again. It is a book by a Negro author which freely proclaims that the Negro was not without faults during a crucial period of the race's history. Already Mr. Donald's study has been roundly condemned by both Negro and white reviewers. The condi-

tions of American life impose upon the Negro author an unintelligent censorship. He can say nothing critical of his race except as a preface to a prescription for social advance.

Unfortunately Mr. Donald's book is so gloomily anti-Negro that much which has been said against it is justified. The author asserts that the Negro freedmen used the torch, the razor, and the poisoned cup; that they lacked thrift, chastity, and sympathy for members of their race in distress; that they had a passion for lying, stealing, and foolish speech; and that their preachers were possessed of "foolish fancies, false doctrines, and worse than false morality." Such a characterization is too unflattering to be believed by the most conservative Bourbon or by the most aggressive Dixiecrat. All Southerners, black or white, conservative, reactionary, or liberal, unite in believing that the Negro possesses many virtues. This is affirmed if for no other reason than to justify the beneficent influence of slavery.

Mr. Donald calls his book a "factual analysis." But it is neither factual nor analytical. It is the digest of the opinions of a limited number of Southern historians and the snap judgments of American and English journalists looking for the unusual and prone to give fanciful opinions of customs and habits of people who do not act in the English or Northern way.

This evidence is inadequate but it could be the basis of a competent appraisal of the life of the freedmen if used with discrimination. Mr. Donald does not do this. Sometimes he evades this obligation by using such phrases as "It seems," "It was reported," and "It is said." At other times he allows his informants to lead him around by the nose. This results in contradictions, patronizing judgments, and erroneous generalizations. The author's authorities lead him to write on the same page that the Negro troops were "commonly arrogant" and that their conduct was "exceedingly good." Negro folkways, especially those concerned with religion, are treated with the intolerance of a rationalist. The easy manner in which Mr. Donald accepts the African origin of certain Negro customs suggests that he is not acquainted with the controversial literature on that subject. It is hard to believe, as is asserted on pages 57, 62, and 111 of this book, that any considerable body of Negroes repudiated the Bible as a pro-slavery document, that Negroes argued in favor of plural marriages, and that they protested against marriage as an institution and against sermons disapproving of lying and stealing. In the South evil practices are not rationalized.

The Negro Freedmen is not without merit. It shows that at least one Negro scholar can be critical of his race. It is arresting and interesting. It tackles every aspect of Negro life. Mr. Donald has erected a framework which can be filled in with a satisfying history of the Negro society which emerged out of slavery. This can be done if the author develops a kindlier spirit toward his race, broadens his research findings, and appraises them adequately.

Longwood College

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

YALE: COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY, 1871-1937. By George Wilson Pierson. Volume I, YALE COLLEGE: AN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY, 1871-1921. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 773. \$6.00.)

My father, Yale College, 1865, and later on the staff for three years, always spoke of Woolsey as a great Yale president, much as I, Harvard, 1899, have always spoken of Eliot as a great Harvard president. It was in Woolsey's administration that the Sheffield Scientific School was started, the doctor of philosophy degree was first given, and Yale emerged as the leader among American universities with such a staff and such momentum that its leadership was bound to last through at least the first part of the period covered by Pierson. Harvard was in the doldrums, apparently unstimulated by Yale, and only to get under way when Johns Hopkins and Gilman came on the scene.

This history of Yale College, 1871-1921, lays little stress on that period of Yale leadership. Indeed, of the 545 pages of main text before the 200 pages of tables, references, etc., only the first 106, or less than 20 per cent, are given to the twenty-eight years which constitute 56 per cent of the fifty-year period ostensibly covered, and the very first chapter of the book is entitled "Yale College in the Nineties." This may be good historical perspective in a book dealing primarily with Yale College, for the College may have been just marking time during most of the years 1871-1899; the leadership may have been elsewhere in the university—perhaps in the Sheffield Scientific School or in the work of scholars who were not primarily interested in the College even if they were attached to the academical faculty. Whatever may be the reason, it is fair to say that Pierson's *Yale College . . . 1871-1921*, is in reality a history of the Hadley administration with no more coverage of the years 1871-1899 than would be advisable background therefor.

As I was a member of the Yale College faculty and a proctor on the campus for several of the early years under Hadley, I can testify from personal experience that Pierson's description of conditions and attitudes in those days is sound, though it would never have occurred to me then or now to characterize the period as "The Age of Barons," for I am not enough of a historian or of a journalist (whichever it be) to think in such terms. But as to the next chapter entitled "Tyrannosaurus Superbus" in reference to F. S. Jones, dean of Yale College, who is not listed in the table of losses, new appointments, and promotions (Table P, p. 724) of permanent officers of the College, I can testify little from personal observation, as I had left Yale by the time he arrived.

It will not, however, be out of keeping with Pierson's light, chatty, even gossip, treatment to tell the one story of personal contact with Jones I can offer. I happened to be sitting next to him at an institutional luncheon at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and asked how things were going in Yale College, to which he replied in this vein: "You behold in me an old man broken in spirit. I was persuaded to give up my work in Minnesota to come back to my

Alma Mater for service to her. I could get things done in the West, could try educational experiments, but not at Yale. One suggestion after another was turned down until finally one day I pushed my chair back from the head of the table at which I was presiding and said to the faculty: 'You know what you remind me of?—a sign I saw on a hot day in the West when I went into a saloon for a glass of beer. It said in red letters over the bar *Don't start nothing here*. I didn't, and I am not going to try to start anything more in Yale College.' And, Mr. Wilson, I kept my word, but I often wonder why I let myself be persuaded to leave my post in the West."

He certainly looked the part, a discouraged man, old before his time, less like Tyrannosaurus Superbus than some bedraggled fossil. My luncheon was spoiled.

Yale College graduates should like this history. As for the now aging graduates of the old "Sheff," before the reorganization with which the Hadley regime and this book end, let them beware—they might get so angry about the old row and the rather obvious partiality of the author to the side of the triumphant College that they would "bust a bloodvessel."

Boston, Massachusetts

EDWIN B. WILSON

A SCHOLAR IN ACTION: EDWIN F. GAY. By *Herbert Heaton*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. vi, 260. \$4.25.)

WESLEY CLAIR MITCHELL, THE ECONOMIC SCIENTIST. Edited by *Arthur F. Burns*. [Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, No. 53.] (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research. 1952. Pp. viii, 387. \$4.00.)

THE many scholars and public men who have known and worked with Professors Gay and Mitchell will appreciate, as does the writer, the early appearance of adequate appraisals of both. Both Gay and Mitchell have left behind them institutions largely their creations in organization and purpose. In the case of Gay, it is the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard, and in the case of Mitchell, the National Bureau of Economic Research, an independent institution which he brought to reality and directed. Both put their scholarship at the nation's service and in both that service had influence in other ways. Gay tried journalism with the *New York Post* and played an important part in founding the Council on Foreign Relations and its incomparable organ, *Foreign Affairs*. Mitchell went back to academic work convinced that economics must contribute something constructive to the study of the business cycle. He was the head of the group and compiled and brought out at President Hoover's request two enlightened volumes on *Recent Social Trends*. Mr. Hoover wrote the briefest possible introduction in an unhappy vein. But the commission had its say unhampered.

Despite these parallels the two men were widely different in training, background, and the self-direction of their careers. The memorial volumes are equally variant in the treatment of their subjects. Professor Heaton has given a smooth, integrated account of Gay that brings the man to life in all his weakness and strength. With better than ordinary economic resources, Edwin Gay followed his undergraduate days at Michigan with twelve years of almost uninterrupted study in Europe, chiefly in Germany with periods in Switzerland, Italy, and the British Museum. He had many ideas about a field of specialization but each led him on and on and back and back in the search for the ultimate foundations. He brought his bride to Europe and stayed on thinking at first to make her his collaborator in his unending studies. Finally under Schmoller he turned to English medieval economic history and took his degree at Berlin in 1902. I was in Berlin that summer and German students were still talking of the brilliant examination of this American. There was probably no one of his examiners that had such a range of information as the candidate. Back in America with income consumed and capital eaten into, he took a minor appointment at Harvard and was on his way. But where? Scholarship with a superb equipment, or administration for which personality and incisive judgment made him always available. You know the result without being told. The great work was not written despite the pressure and stratagems of friends and all the good resolves of Gay himself. But you do see in this sympathetic and understanding biography that others, students and colleagues, were being trained and their standards elevated. There is no imposing bibliography, only a few essays and addresses, but somehow Edwin Gay lifted economic history to a firmer place as a subject for research and for college teaching. On such intangibles rests his claim to the scholar's immortality.

Wesley Mitchell made his way largely by his own efforts through the University of Chicago. Two such widely different men as J. Laurence Laughlin and Thorstein Veblen interested him in economics. His own independent mind was a greater factor. In his senior year the *Journal of Political Economy* published his essay on "The Quantity Theory of the Value of Money." Other essays followed and then the volume, still standard, on *The History of the Greenbacks*. Price indexes engaged his attention. *Gold, Prices, and Wages* and a stream of studies written in California and in Columbia showed his prodigious industry and his steady devotion to facts and statistics as bases for any economic theory and as possible material for giving economics a predictive role in recurring economic crises. All this was subsumed under his mastering interest in the business cycle. And the National Bureau of Economic Research under his direction has devoted much of its time, staff, and resources to volumes on the subject. As a professor, Mitchell was a good teacher whose researches fed new material into his classes and seminars, to which came students from all over the world. All his work and thinking was enriched by his wide-ranging interests in all fields.

Despite the intensity of his self-directed life, he was anything but a narrow specialist. He was one of the founders of the New School for Social Research and on its staff for three years. To him as acknowledged leader went the first Francis Walker gold medal given by the American Economic Association. He was one of the two social scientists ever to be president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The volume on Mitchell is a collection of essays and addresses by friends and colleagues edited by his brilliant disciple and successor as director of the Bureau. It could be cut in half for in each tribute there is needless repetition of the major facts of Mitchell's life and work. The essay by the editor, Arthur F. Burns, and the personal sketch by Mrs. Mitchell would be enough, but working through the others does deepen and broaden comprehension of the man. There is a forty-two-page bibliography of his writings and of writings about his writings.

Edwin F. Gay and Wesley Clair Mitchell as great American scholars and as men of integrity, loyalty, and lovable character merit the tribute of these volumes.

Washington, D. C.

GUY STANTON FORD

THE PHILIPPINES AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Garel A. Grunder* and *William E. Livezey*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 315. \$4.00.)

THE authors of *The Philippines and the United States*, in the preface (p. vii), state its scope accurately. It is

a study in the origin and evolution of United States policy toward the Islands. . . . It is not an account of our policy in operation nor a history of the Philippines; it refers to our administration of the Islands and their national development only when these factors affected American policy. The activities of the executive branch of the government, as indicated through public and private communications and the acceptance or rejection of these suggestions by the legislature have been discussed with reasonable fullness.

Hewing strictly to this line, the authors, consequently, give only a limited basis for an appraisal of the United States as a colonial power since the soundness of policy can be measured only in action where it is designed to take effect. The authors do, however, give a carefully documented account of the American pressures operative on and through Congress and the executive which established the lines of American policy toward the Philippines. In so doing they document more fully, as a result of thorough examination of the relevant United States government publications, especially House and Senate documents, the already established view of the motivation of American policy from 1898 to the establishment of the Commonwealth.

An exception to the comment above on the exclusion of consideration of policy in action in the Philippines should be noted here. In the chapters titled

"Tariff and Shipping Policy" (vi), "Friars and Friar Lands" (vii) and "The Regime of Leonard Wood" (x), where the treatment is analytical as well as chronological and expository, the authors at least lay the groundwork for an understanding of the effects of economic policy in action in the Islands.

With their primary focus on domestic influences on American policy through the Congress, it is understandable that the authors give only limited consideration to the Far Eastern situation and general international factors as they shaped the views of the executive on Philippine policy, especially in the 1930's. There is, in fact, this same failure adequately to put the problem in its international setting in the last chapters (xiv, xv, xvi) covering the "Philippines and World War II," "Reconstruction and Independence," and "The Philippines at Mid-Century." The change in circumstances, however, causes the authors to turn their attention more specifically to conditions in the Philippines, without any failure to follow adequately, and critically, the evolution of American policy. Here they perceive as a principal problem of immediate postwar policy in the Philippines that of treatment of those who had collaborated with Japan, placing a large measure of responsibility on General MacArthur and the United States for failure to solve the problem. They do not, however, indicate the relationship of the Huks to that issue nor do they give enough background in their treatment of it (pp. 278-79) to enable the reader to appraise the Huk movement. These questions of internal politics, however, are outside the defined scope of the book, which explains their secondary treatment. Within the limits set for themselves, the authors have done a good job in tracing the evolution of American policy toward the Philippines.

University of Cincinnati

HAROLD M. VINACKE

THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF SENATOR VANDENBERG. Edited by *Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr.* With the Collaboration of *Joe Alex Morris*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1952. Pp. xxii, 599. \$5.00.)

THIS absorbing book is rightly presented as a ten-year (1941-51) narrative of a man—and to some extent of a large portion of the American people—in search of a common interest in collective peace and the adjustment of the United States to mounting international responsibilities. The volume will have a lasting place, like Senator Vandenberg himself, when the historians put together the pieces. The niceties of scholarship require the reviewer to admit to a bias of admiration gained by two years of staff work with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1947-49, which appears fully justified by the present sketch.

This work can be viewed as satisfactory political biography or as the partial intellectual autobiography of a man who sharpened his own thought by thoughtful correspondence and who developed some of the arts of senatorial statesmanship by listening patiently and fairly to testimony.

It is hard to tell how much Vandenberg knew about any one foreign country. He sometimes spoke of the need for more specialization in foreign affairs in both the Senate and the House. And it is hard to judge from this narrative how highly he will be rated as a negotiator in diplomatic trials. But the former newsman's comments on such negotiations warrant further study and reflect an increasing understanding of the diplomatic role, although never an easy acceptance of what he called "the crisis method." But he often applied a remarkable, farsighted political wisdom, a sense of the possible, to intricate and critical foreign policy legislation. There is little doubt that he will be considered high among the "legislative engineers" of the Senate.

Vandenberg had planned to write a book to strengthen nonpartisanship in foreign policy which he dated as beginning, for practical purposes, in the campaign of 1944. In January, 1950, he wrote a constituent: "To me, 'bipartisan foreign policy' means a mutual effort, under our indispensable two-Party system, to unite our official voice at the water's edge so that America speaks with maximum authority against those who would divide and conquer us and the free world. It does not involve the remotest surrender of free debate in determining our position" (p. 552). His son and editor states: "It was his dedication to bipartisanship that dominated the last years of his life and brought into sharp focus a generally unrecognized spiritual side of his nature" (p. xix). If so, it probably was because it was not an easy matter for him.

Chapter 21, "The Vandenberg Resolution: 'Within the Charter but Outside the Veto,'" is a good example of his development of an idea when he was, in 1948, at the "apex of his power" as Republican foreign policy spokesman, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and president pro tem of the Senate. He felt Senate Resolution 239 to be "a new formula under which the United Nations Charter can be *made to work without* Charter amendments which manifestly are unattainable under existing UN circumstances and membership" (p. 419). One might recall at this point, Vandenberg's comments five years before on the Mackinac Charter: "the indispensable doctrine that Americans can be faithful to the primary institutions and interests of our own United States and still be equally loyal to the essential post-war international cooperations . . ." (p. 59).

Chapter 6, regarding the early stages of the Charter, and chapter 27, "China: 'The Conundrum of the Ages,'" will interest many readers. In September, 1944, when commenting on the prevention of war, he said, "It requires, above all else, world education . . . because our peace engagements, in the final analysis, will be no stronger than the consciences of the peoples of the earth . . ." (p. 120). This was one aspect of the problem which, however, so far as this reviewer can recall, Vandenberg did not develop at length.

Washington, D. C.

RICHARD H. HEINDEL

THE TRANSPORTATION CORPS: RESPONSIBILITIES, ORGANIZATION, AND OPERATIONS. By *Chester Wardlow*. [United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1951. Pp. xvii, 454. \$3.25.)

CHESTER WARDLOW's volume on the Transportation Corps is the first of three volumes on this branch of the Army Service Forces in World War II. It also is the first volume to appear in the subseries, "The Technical Services," which is part of the great series, "The United States Army in World War II," under the general editorship of Kent Roberts Greenfield. Wardlow presents an excellent account of the activities of the Transportation Corps in the United States, and of the general problems of staff relationships as to transportation problems.

From this volume it is quite clear why the Transportation Corps has necessarily continued as a branch of the military establishment in the postwar period. At the time of outbreak of war in 1941, there was a division of responsibility for army transport functions. With the reorganization of the War Department on March 9, 1942, the Transportation Corps was created under the Army Service Forces. From then until the end of the war, this agency controlled army troop and supply movements within the United States. It provided trained transportation officers for the various army posts and stations and commanded the great army ports of embarkation. In the army ports of embarkation alone there were 171,000 employees, military and civilian. Through these ports the army sent to overseas theaters over 7,293,000 men, and over 126,787,000 measurement tons of cargo. These shipments are exclusive of other shipments through the navy, through airports of embarkation, and through commercial facilities.

In addition to these topics, the author also points out that transportation personnel had to be trained and units of the corps supplied for overseas theaters. Interestingly this included a number of maritime personnel for the army's small boats, for hospital ships, etc. Throughout the book there is excellent treatment of many of the phases of the American system of divided authority for over-all transportation matters. The War Shipping Administration had general responsibility to meet our shipping and ship-building requirements. Also, while this agency allocated vessels for army transport requirements, the navy maintained a separate system of supply and a separate fleet of transport vessels to supply men and cargo to its bases abroad. Within the United States, general supervision of the railroads was under the Office of Defense Transportation, an independent civilian establishment. Finally the air forces maintained control over air shipments, air transport, and air ports of embarkation. Attempts at co-ordination between army and navy were made through a section of the Army and Navy Munitions Board, and other co-ordination activities under the Joint and Combined Chiefs of Staff are considered. For the student of administration the British

Ministry of War Transport seems to offer a better integrated system at the national level, as Wardlow suggests at one point.

This volume is ably written and well organized. The historian should note, as the author points out, that wartime statistics have been used. Statistical volumes yet to be published in the general series may provide some few corrections. It is likewise of significance that despite the fact that the army wanted integrated control over transportation in some agency, Wardlow finds no confirmation in the records he has examined to substantiate the statement that such control was desired by the army for its own agencies, which evidence conflicts with an unsupported statement made in a report by the Bureau of the Budget in 1946.

University of Florida

MANNING J. DAUER

SOLDIERS, INDIANS, AND SILVER: THE NORTHWARD ADVANCE OF NEW SPAIN, 1550-1600. By *Philip Wayne Powell*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 317. \$4.50.)

It has been well said that Cortés' capture of Tenochtitlán in 1521 did not end the Spanish conquest of Mexico but merely began it. The northward advance from the land of the relatively civilized, sedentary Aztecs into the territory of the wild, nomadic Chichimecas, and even beyond, was to prove far more difficult, costly, and time-consuming. This book is the story of the first, and most important, part of that epic advance.

Coronado's failure to find wealth and the almost successful Mixtón uprising slowed the advance temporarily, but the discovery of tremendous silver deposits in Zacatecas in 1546 again lured the Spaniard into the hostile and unknown land. Zacatecas boomed but it was far from its sources of supply. The region and, more especially, its supply lines were vulnerable. The Indians fell upon them and "... the warfare of this northern brave was so effective and so devastating that it forced Spanish military, political and religious policy makers to take frequent pause and ponder many new problems of war and peace that had not been known to the conquerors of an earlier day" (p. 2).

Professor Powell divides his account of the fifty-year period into four general periods. The titles accurately suggest the course of developments. The "Seeds of War" were planted in the first years of the Zacatecas strike. All that mattered seemed to be to get the silver out of the ground and moving toward Mexico City. The Indian annoyance was not recognized for the full-scale problem it was until too late; then it was the whole "Frontier in Flames."

The reaction was one that might have been expected. Fully aroused and ready to take what seemed to be the necessary measures the Spaniard, from viceroy to frontier captain, set himself to putting forth the time, lives, and money necessary to subdue and punish the Indian. It was to be war by fire and sword, "Guerra a fuego y a sangre."

But almost from the start there were a few who claimed that this would not bring ultimate peace. They foresaw that the semi-nomadic Indian roaming his wild homeland would be almost impossible to crush and that active soldiering among friendly frontier tribes was likely to create more problems than it would solve. They were correct. Ultimately a policy of "Pacification" was formulated and proved to be the answer, not only for the Chichimecas but also on the advance into New Mexico and California.

This is an important book, albeit one for specialists. It is an excellent account of a period of Spanish colonial history that is not as well known but possibly is more significant than the dramatic days of Cortés and Pizarro. The day-to-day process of colonizing, advancing civilization, of facing new problems and learning how to solve them was not glamorous but it was necessary.

Likewise the work of gathering together all the bits of evidence to present the story must have been a plodding business. But Professor Powell's scholarship has been thorough and the sum total of a mass of minutiae is a useful and revealing story. This is apparent in the writing. When Professor Powell is working closely from the documents he trudges forward with the pack trains, when he summarizes he soars with the eagles and the drama of the whole picture is revealed.

Temple University

CLEMENT G. MOTTEN

ITURBIDE OF MEXICO. By *William Spence Robertson*, Professor of History, Emeritus, University of Illinois. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 361. \$6.00.)

In this scholarly and clearly written work the author shows an interest in and understanding for the most diverse aspects of his subject's career.

Professor Robertson's close familiarity with the documents of the royalist group influences his treatment, which at times is severe toward the first insurgents. The relationship established between Iturbide's activity as a landowner and his position in the royalist army is most interesting: it brings out the importance of family and social relations in explaining the beginning of the military career of the "*criollo*" leader. An alert and continuing concern with economical matters, cold and relentless repression of insurgency, an outward religiousness which fostered instead of stemming excesses in the defense of the established order, these are the main characteristics of Iturbide in his early years. Professor Robertson also considers the seeds of independence which were to bloom later in Iturbide's spirit, in the union of the king's soldiers and the insurgents but without concessions to the lack of discipline of the first rebels or to the political, social, and revolutionary system to which they aspired. Thus the problems that were to develop throughout the nineteenth century in this ancient northern possession of the Spanish Empire appear in

the spirit of the "*criollo*" chief, practical and direct but not lacking in definite political intentions.

The high point in the public life of Iturbide, well treated in the work under review, is the seven months that began with the proclamation of the Iguala Plan and ended with the consummation of independence. The leader paraded through the streets of the City of Mexico at the head of the Army of the Three Guaranties on September 27, 1821, the very day he reached the age of thirty-eight. This era was marked at the beginning by royalist repression and at the end by the failure of the first empire, both of which tend to darken the historical figure of Iturbide. But when one considers, as Robertson does, the difficult task faced by the leader of Iguala and overcome by his activity and the tact and success of his movements, a more favorable image emerges. This explains why biographers such as Cuevas have tried to confer on Iturbide the title of Liberator of Mexico. Historical research shows that Spanish domination did not fall by itself, and that the task of putting an end to it was brought about by an extensive and successful rebellion inspired by the thought of independence—in Iturbide's words, "the day which Mexico will eternally celebrate." But it has been the proclamation of 1810 rather than the consummation of independence in 1821 which history has sentimentally preferred to commemorate, it being more in consonance with the political and social ideas of later liberal and republican eras.

There are, in the governing career of Iturbide, signs of attention to the international panorama of Mexico, Central America, the Antilles, and the rest of the world; and indications of a preference for a limited monarchic regime as a compromise between despotism and anarchy. The comparison with the political programs of other leaders of American independence is not lacking in interest. Professor Robertson points out the contacts which Iturbide had with Bolívar and San Martín.

The influence of the Spanish garrison at San Juan de Ulúa in the downfall of Iturbide's empire is stressed by citing original documents. The uprising against the emperor is narrated in its every detail and gives an active picture of the system which contemporary writers called "the military system" of power, which succeeded the monarchical political order of the colonial era. From the movement of Yermo in 1808 to the movement of Casa-Mata in 1823 it is possible to observe the substitution of one regime for another, a process which would remain the pattern all through the nineteenth century except for short periods.

Historians, Mexicans included, have hitherto not given due consideration to Iturbide's position in Europe, where he was menaced by the legitimistic zeal of the Holy Alliance and stubbornly hated by Ferdinand VII, all of which brings him closer to England. His idea of protecting Mexico against the danger of a European reconquering expedition, together with his desire to return to his native land and to power, finally spelled his undoing on Mexican soil.

The author follows the fortunes of Iturbide's family after his death and ex-

plains the ups and downs of his historical reputation; he reasons that, had Iturbide governed with authority in a republican regime, he would have followed more closely the example set by other governors of Spanish America. And it is proper to speculate on the fact that perhaps in the end Mexico made a fateful decision when Santa Ana instead of Iturbide became the outstanding figure of the first half of her history in the nineteenth century.

Professor Robertson's work brings light to the era of transition from the colonial period to the independent regime; and because it is written with independence of judgment and analytical precision and based upon a solid foundation of original sources scattered in various parts of the world, the work will be of great value to students of one of the most significant moments in the history of Spanish America.

Mexico, D.F.

SILVIO ZAVALA

MITRE AND ARGENTINA. By *William H. Jeffrey*, Department of History, University of Maine. (New York: Library Publishers. 1952. Pp. 290. \$3.75.)

Mitre and Argentina recommends itself to college teachers seeking supplementary reading material for introductory courses in Latin-American history. Despite a certain stiffness in style this study should also appeal to the non-Spanish-reading public interested in the Argentina past.

Bartolomé Mitre, gentleman, soldier, man-of-letters, and statesman, was one of the outstanding figures in Latin America's turbulent nineteenth century. In his lifespan (1821-1906) Argentina emerged from the comparative isolation of its back-seat colonial status in the Spanish Empire and attained a front-rank position among Latin-American nations. In that transition Mitre played a prominent role, which Dr. Jeffrey sometimes indicates as being more decisive than the evidence presented may justify.

From the battle of Caseros (1852) to the end of the century, Dr. Jeffrey's *Mitre* is unfortunately cut from the same pattern used by almost all Mitre's previous biographers—that of the nigh-flawless hero. It is this reviewer's conviction that Mitre's biographers have done him a great disservice in glossing over or ignoring virtually everything that might not reflect credit on his record. As a result, instead of appearing as *un hombre de hueso y carne* whose virtues and achievements far outweighed his faults and failures, Mitre has been remolded into a figure as stiff as one of the statues his admirers have placed in and about Buenos Aires.

The author, dependent upon published sources, does not probe far below the surface. His relatively objective treatment of Urquiza, however, is perhaps an encouraging sign that a long-overdue re-evaluation of the Entre Ríos caudillo is underway in this country. Dr. Jeffrey's questionable judgments on Sarmiento, the

third member of the great triumvirate of the post-Rosas era, indicate an unfamiliarity with the more valuable published sources dealing with the school-master-president. Conspicuous omissions in Dr. Jeffrey's bibliography also include Miron Burgin's *Economic Aspects of Argentine Federalism*, the *Asambleas constituyentes argentinas*, edited by Ravignani, and the works of Cárcano and Herrera on the Paraguayan war.

Mitre and Argentina, despite its shortcomings, is still one of the best published biographies of Mitre. A definitive study, however, must be based on primary sources such as the unpublished correspondence of Urquiza and other manuscript collections in the Argentine National Archives, in the manuscripts and provincial newspaper files of the Biblioteca Nacional in Buenos Aires, and in the unpublished materials of the National Archives in Washington. Published sources simply are not adequate for a comprehensive study of Argentina, and Mitre in particular, after 1862.

Washington, D.C.

JOSEPH R. BARAGER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1947-1948. By *Peter Calvocoressi*. Assisted by *Sheila Harden*. With an Introduction by *Arnold Toynbee*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. x, 581, \$9.00.)

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1947-1948. Selected and Edited by *Margaret Carlyle*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. xxvii, 878, \$14.00.) These volumes, one of narrative and a companion of documents, initiate a competent resumption of a distinguished series inaugurated by Professor Arnold Toynbee in the 1920's and continued by him until interrupted in the midst of the 1938 account. Another series, the 1939 volume of which is already in print, will bridge the intervening gap. Toynbee the narrator has given way to Peter Calvocoressi, who came to the staff of Chatham House from Royal Air Force Intelligence via a tour of duty at the Nuremberg Trials, and who is assisted by Sheila Harden. The story covers successively Russo-American relations, Western Europe (a portion of this section is by R. G. Hawtrey), Russian activities in Eastern Europe, the clash over Germany, the Far East (by F. C. Jones), Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the United Nations. Discussion of the Middle East and of British Commonwealth interrelationships is reserved for other volumes. To the central theme of round-the-world antagonism between Communism and its opponents Calvocoressi brings considerable talent in integrating diffuse materials, presenting much of the stuff out of which a perspective may one day be derived. American readers will find it a healthy exercise to see their national policy reflected from this trans-Atlantic mirror, which on occasion brings out, in kindly fashion, that policy's shortcomings. The volume pays the inevitable penalty of its breadth of coverage and its compartmentalized approach in an annoying repetitiousness; certain sections, particularly that on Southeast Asia, carry a heavy burden of domestic detail. Quotations, kept to a minimum by the companion collection of documents, are not always accurately transcribed in the narrative volume. Spot checking indicates that the documentary volume is more faithful to the sources. Of four maps, only one is on such a scale and projection as to be really useful. Both volumes will, nevertheless, be welcomed by all who try to grasp the thorny bush of contemporary affairs.

L. ETHAN ELLIS, *Rutgers University*

FRANKREICH UND FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE: DER AUFSTIEG PREUSSENS IN DER ÖFFENTLICHEN MEINUNG DES "ANCIEN RÉGIME." By *Stephan Skalweit*. [Bonner historische Forschungen, Band 1.] (Bonn, Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1952, pp. 201, DM 13.50.) In contrast to French opinion of Prussia after 1870, French eighteenth-century writers generally looked upon Prussia's rising power and brilliant king with favor and even enthusiasm. Dr. Skalweit does not attempt to assess "public opinion" as ordinarily understood today, but confines his penetrating analysis mainly to a dozen French writers. He explains neatly the psychological and political tendencies of each which conditioned their attitudes toward Prussia. Voltaire, D'Argenson, Barbier, and the duc de Luynes welcomed the versifying philosopher-king as

France's "natural ally" against the traditional Habsburg enemy. But they were soon sadly disillusioned by his invasion of Silesia hardly a month after his publication of *Anti-Machiavel*, and then by his involvement and desertion of France. This disillusionment, however, was largely offset by admiration of Frederick's heroic victories and did not seriously shake their belief in his desirability as an ally. The next three—Bernis, Duclos, and Choiseul—alarmed at British colonial and naval power, accepted the reversal of alliances but were soon outraged by Frederick's treatment of Saxony and flagrant publication of documents seized in the Dresden archives. About the same time, after Voltaire's humiliating quarrel with Frederick, came a shift in French attitudes: less admiration of the *roi philosophe* and *roi guerrier*; more criticism of his absolutist power which was repugnant to Encyclopedist conceptions; and more attention to the economic and military basis of the Prussian state. This is reflected in Diderot's opinion: "*Ce roi est certainement un grand homme, mais quinteux comme une perruche, malfaisant comme un singe, et capable en même temps des plus grandes et des plus petites choses. C'est une méchante âme.*" Rousseau also, though glad to find refuge on Prussian soil at Neuchâtel, frankly informed Frederick that this did not imply that he surrendered an iota of his republican freedom. D'Alembert, with a firm, equable spirit, knew better than anyone else, during ten years at Potsdam, how to retain both the king's friendship and his own independence of mind. Favier and Raynal again looked favorably upon Prussia as a possible valuable ally to bolster sinking French power, while Guibert and Mirabeau wrote discriminating accounts of the bases of Prussia's economic, military, and administrative strength. Such, in very inadequate and overgeneralized summary, is the bare outline of this volume. It is distinguished by its fine nuances, critical scholarship, and fresh points of view.

SIDNEY B. FAY, *Harvard University*

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Elizabeth M. Lynskey, Professor of Political Science, Hunter College. Introduction by John J. Meng, Professor of History, Hunter College. With a Foreword by George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College. (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1952, pp. x, 99, \$2.00.) In the first section of this book, the author gives an excellent description of the government of the church. Although her approach is that of political science, it is evident that this ecclesiastical organization cannot be understood without some consideration of the theological beliefs that give authority to the hierarchy. Pope and bishops exercise the power of order, or "the power to sanctify the faithful by sacred rites," and the power of jurisdiction, which is "the power to govern the faithful for the attainment of the supernatural end for which the Church is established." A concise review of the complex machinery by which such powers are exercised lists the assistants of the pope and the bishops. The hierarchy rules by divine right and is self-continuing, either by appointment or election by appointed electors, such as the cardinals. The laity "takes little part in the government of the Church," being the reservoir from which priests are recruited. Greater opportunity to help promote the faith, although not to participate in actual government, is provided in Catholic Action. Part II describes the less-known arrangements which the church makes for the direction and control of missions and national problems. Here as in the first part the treatment may be regarded as "objective," but in the last section, which considers the church as a world society, the author launches into controversial issues. Thus argument is presented to controvert charges that the church is totalitarian, and parallels and differences with the Communist party are discussed. Not being a national state, the church does not belong to the United Nations. In short, this world society is not a state, and all that

remains of the temporal power formerly held by the papacy is to be found in Vatican City. Evidence is presented to prove that Vatican City is a sovereign state and that the United States may have diplomatic representation there without establishing relations with the church. But it hardly seems reasonable to believe that this little hundred-acre state would have diplomatic representatives from some forty-six states if the central government of the church were not housed there. Moreover, it develops that the papal representatives sent to other countries do have ecclesiastical functions, and that the American bishops do not favor having a higher representative from the Vatican in this country. In fact there is no likelihood that the pope would send a representative of corresponding rank if our government sent an ambassador to the Vatican, because the American Constitution prevents governmental regulation of churches. "The question of federal aid to schools is one of the few types of federal legislation in which the Holy See might theoretically be interested."

F. DUNCALF, *University of Texas*

APPARAAT VOOR DE STUDIE DER GESCHIEDENIS. By J. M. Romein. (2d rev. ed.; Groningen, Wolters, 1952, pp. 103, 3.90 guilders.) The present "apparatus for the study of history" was first published in 1949 to meet the needs of history students in Dutch universities, who until then had lacked an annotated bibliography in their native language of the most important literature for the study of medieval and modern European history. It has apparently been favorably received in the Netherlands, for a second, revised edition has recently been issued. Because of the language barrier, however, this handy little volume is not likely to be serviceable in non-Dutch-speaking countries, except possibly as a guide to the literature of Dutch history, which is nowhere else covered in so much detail or in so convenient a form. In spite of the author's well-known Marxist tendencies, his selection of literature does not betray any Marxist bias. It does reveal, however, a certain lack of familiarity with the products of American scholarship. For instance, the volume on *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* by the committee on historiography of the Social Science Research Council, L. R. Lind's *Medieval Latin Studies*, and *A Guide to Dutch Bibliographies* published in 1951 by the Library of Congress, might profitably have been included. More surprising than this failure to take note of what is being published in the United States is the omission of such Dutch works as the *Atlas van Stolk*, De Bas and Ten Raa's *Het Staatsche Leger*, and the *Repertorium betreffende Nederlandse monumenten van geschiedenis en kunst*, all of which have long been valuable tools for the study of Netherlands history. The *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, which is listed as having ceased publication in 1938, is again being published. Perhaps such minor blemishes on an otherwise good piece of work can be corrected in a third edition.

B. H. WABEKE, *Washington, D.C.*

GUIDE TO RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY. By William W. Brickman, Department of History and Philosophy of Education, School of Education, New York University. (New York, New York University Bookstore, 1949, pp. ix, 220.) The author of this useful manual recognizes that educational literature is in general disrepute in academic circles and asserts that scholars in the field will gain acceptance only when they raise their standards of production. He points to the field of the history of education as one in which much shoddy work has been done and one in which a special opportunity exists to apply the canons of an established discipline. Only when educationists (his word) write creditable history can they expect to be taken seriously by the historians. Mr. Brickman's little book is thus partly a tract for his colleagues

in schools of education. The intended object of this book is to supply graduate and undergraduate students with a manual for the investigation and writing of the history of education. The heart of the book is in the two sections, "The Search for Source Materials" and "Applying the Historical Method of Research to Education." In the former will be found selective bibliographies that are extensive and critically annotated; even mature investigators will find them handy. The section on methods covers most of the problems to which graduate students in history are introduced in the standard course on methods, but it has the great merit of sharp focus. Judicious illustration of the problems with typical instances of mismanagement are thus highly meaningful. It is evident that Mr. Brickman's manual is the product of actual teaching experience; some of those outside the schools of education who dally with the history of education could profitably study it. THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

RACE-RELATIONS IN ANCIENT EGYPT: GREEK, EGYPTIAN, HEBREW, ROMAN. By S. Davis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. xiii, 176, \$4.50.) The fact that the twentieth century is plagued with problems arising from race relations has suggested to Professor Davis that he investigate the part played by such problems in antiquity. Selecting Hellenistic Egypt as the special field of his study, he examines the manner and extent of cultural fusion there and the legal status of foreigners in the state. An introductory chapter establishes the extreme racial snobbishness of the classic Greeks but accepts wholeheartedly Tarn's highly doubtful suggestion that Alexander the Great rose above such prejudices to plan a world in which men of all races would enjoy perfect equality. The Ptolemies forsook his broad view, however, and in the author's opinion they tried hard to Hellenize the Egyptian natives. He presents very little evidence to support this opinion, and in the end he sadly admits that Greek culture in Egypt was never more than a thin façade. The Hellenization of the Alexandrian Jews went no deeper, being a mere "flash in the pan" so far as later Judaism was concerned. The Romans were much less given to racial snobbishness than the Greeks, and Davis regards the Roman Empire as a realization of what he thinks Alexander had hoped for. The chapters on Rome expatiate upon the extension of Roman citizenship until it included everyone in the empire, but they make a great point of the fact that the Romans never assimilated the Jews. In fact, the Jews receive special attention throughout the book. Ancient anti-Semitism is discussed at length, and a quite superfluous chapter deals with their early sojourn in Egypt. This chapter is easily the weakest in the book, though the discussions of such difficult constitutional questions as the legal status of Jews in Alexandria and the "Constitutio Antoniniana" are almost as disappointing. The author has read widely in Hellenistic history, but his book is poorly organized and, resting heavily upon a few secondary authorities (especially Haarhoff, Tarn, A. H. M. Jones, Sherwin-White, all of whom are good scholars), he

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

adds little that is new to his subject. Perhaps the paper shortage in England, where the book was manufactured, is to be blamed for the small type and close printing, but the American price (almost three cents a page) seems exorbitant, even for times like ours.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

THE *ANNALS* OF TACITUS: A STUDY IN THE WRITING OF HISTORY. By B. Walker, Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics at Manchester University. (Manchester, Manchester University Press; New York, Barnes and Noble, 1952, pp. viii, 284, \$4.50.) "Such is the power of Tacitus' writing that the reader is often amazed, on examining a purely factual summary, to see what he has actually been reading—to see what a discrepancy exists between the factual content and the general impression derived from the work. . . . It is the object of this study to attempt some analysis of the manner in which Tacitus handled his factual material, in the hope that by examining the means, the process of transmutation, . . . some understanding of the end Tacitus aimed at may be reached, and a partial answer found to the essential question of his real motives throughout the work." Miss Walker has eminently succeeded in this purpose, and provided us a valuable study. So brief a review can only indicate the major elements of the study. Chapter three (pp. 13-32) analyzes the arrangement of the subject matter around three principal themes in Books I-VI, three again in XI-XVI. The fourth chapter studies the "introduction of non-factual material" by devices of drama, rhetoric, vocabulary, and allusion (pp. 33-77). Chapter six (pp. 82-137) considers the divergence between the factual and the nonfactual in the Tiberian treason-trials, the death of Germanicus, and the conspiracy of Piso—in which last an extraordinary slip (p. 132) makes Tacitus say that people at the time did not "believe" (instead of "doubt") that there *was* a conspiracy (*Ann.* 15.73.3); and seven (pp. 138-57), possible explanations of the distortions. Chapter eight: "His technique always becomes most elaborate where his facts are weakest." Were truer words ever written? An excellent chapter on Tacitus' life, mind, and attitude (pp. 163-203) classifies him (in the terminology of Jung) as intuitive and emotional. Two chapters (pp. 204-43) study type-characters and Tacitus' difficulties in maintaining those characterizations, and another (244-54) his religious outlook. Tacitus the historian must rank as inferior to Thucydides but above Livy whose "methods as scientist are still more defective than Tacitus', and his imaginative conception inferior both intellectually and artistically. But the *Annals* is an artistic creation to be judged as one judges the *Aeneid*; as a reinterpretation of the past, coloured and animated by a great artist's experience of the present. As such it has no peer in Latin prose."

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS, *Duke University*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

THE BARBARIAN WEST, 400-1000. By J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. [Hutchinson's Uni-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

versity Library: History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. vii, 157, trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.) This rapid survey of six-hundred years of western European history is built around the theme that "awareness of the classical heritage and anxiety to preserve it characterized the Western barbarians almost as much as the men of the Late Empire" (p. 104). In the light of modern scholarship the writer has re-examined such oft-worked sources as Gregory of Tours, Paul the Deacon, Cassiodorus, Boethius, St. Augustine, Einhard, Nithard, and numerous others, to discover in what terms the inhabitants of the barbarized Roman West thought of the Rome which had preceded them. The task has been most satisfactorily met in the treatment of the Franks, discussion of whom occupies more than one third of the work (55 pages). The work under review suffers from the fault of most brief surveys of broad historical periods: some of its generalizations require considerably more qualification than a work of this length has space to supply. Such qualification is needed, for example, when one says of the year 376 A.D. that "men were thinking and feeling as Europeans" (p. 11); or, "What distinguishes Charles [Martel] from other great men of the late Merovingian period . . . is his heroic vigor" (p. 90). Beginning students will find the geographical and personal names difficult to follow. Advanced scholars may be dissatisfied with the amount of annotation. The writer has labored valiantly to compress a large topic into a limited area.

GLEN R. DRISCOLL, *University of South Dakota*

DER GANG NACH CANOSSA: KAISER HEINRICH IV. By *Rudolph Wahl*. (2d ed.; Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1951, pp. 394, Ln. DM. 16.) Almost twenty years ago Dr. Rudolph Wahl turned from a lucrative career in German industry to devote himself to the study of history. He has undertaken to write *Historie* rather than *Geschichte*, understanding by the former a scientifically accurate but artistically attractive and imaginative study (lying somewhere between professional scholarship and belles-lettres), which his publishers regard as an "art form" of his creation. Wahl has already published the following *Historien*: *Karl der Grosse* (1934); *Canossa: Kirche und König* (1935), apparently the first edition of the volume here under review; *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa* (1941); and *Wandler der Welt* (1947), a biography of Frederick II Hohenstaufen. *Der Gang nach Canossa* is rather textbookish in substance; there is nothing new in it; but the author is well informed, and the book is very well written. If the style and purpose are popular, they are also serious. There are no footnotes, and the sources are rarely identified, although contemporary titles, quotations, and the like are printed in italics to denote their having been drawn from an original source. At the end of the book is a good brief bibliography; there are eight fine illustrations. Wahl places his emphasis on the political history and on some of the chief German and Italian personalities of the second half of the eleventh century; he gives lively pictures of Pope Gregory VII, Anno of Cologne, Adalbert of Bremen, Pope Urban II, and of course Emperor Henry IV. Even the most hardened reader will feel his pulse quickened by Wahl's stirring account of events in the years 1076-1077. The fascinating but well-known tale of *imperium* in conflict with *sacerdotium* is told with an easy elegance. The biographer of Charlemagne, Barbarossa, and Frederick II writes, almost by nature, of the imperial cause with understanding and sympathy. If the present book were in English, it would be a good thing for our undergraduates to read, *sed Germanice scriptum non legetur!*

KENNETH M. SETTON, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE GREY FRIARS IN CAMBRIDGE, 1225-1538. By Reverend *John R. H. Moorman*.

The Birkbeck Lectures, 1948-9. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. viii, 277, \$7.00.) Here is the full story of the Cambridge Franciscans—from their humble beginnings and their early turning to learning, their impact on the university and their part in the founding of a faculty of theology and in the dispute (1303-1306) between the Friars and the university, to, finally, the dissolution in 1538. We see more clearly the importance of the Franciscans in Cambridge and the significant position of the Cambridge house in the European system of the order. New documents and much new interpretation are presented, but it is the synthesis of known material that is most valuable. Full evaluation of such a book can come only after long usage, but one can suggest criticisms of certain parts. Appendix B, "Notes on Cambridge Franciscans," is perhaps the section with the widest usefulness, yet that usefulness could have been increased by references to the main text (it is necessary to go through the index), and similarly there is seldom reference from text to appendix. For a fuller understanding of such friars as Brinkley, Bungay, Burton, and especially Standish, one must turn to Little's *Franciscan Papers and Grey Friars in Oxford*, and (particularly in matters of theological and philosophical import) to Little and Pelster's *Oxford Theology and Theologians*; for if there is a serious limitation it is in Dr. Moorman's failure to explore theological aspects of his history, as in the case of Costesy. There are errata and necessary additions: e.g., Burton (p. 159), *five* years at Oxford; Standish (p. 211), for 1418 read 1518, and he died in July, 1535; for Cateryke, see Grace Book F on his length of study. (Thomas of York is left out of the otherwise adequate index.) Surely Dr. Moorman's repeated assertion that "sermons in parish churches were but rare events" is now questionable in light of D. W. Robertson's argument for the "Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England" (*Speculum*, XXIV [1949], 376-88); and to the much too brief discussion of Bible study must be added Miss Smalley's superb *Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (2d ed., 1952). One finds here full payment of the debt which all students of English Franciscan history owe to the late Dr. Little, and one can only echo the wish that he might have lived to know that the history of the Cambridge Grey Friars has at long last been written, and written with scope and penetration that make the volume a worthy companion to Little's own work on the Oxford Grey Friars.

R. J. SCHOECK, *Cornell University*

THE EARLY ENGLISH FRIARS PREACHERS. By *William A. Hinnebusch*, Professor of History, Providence College, Providence, R. I. [Dissertationes Historicae, Fasciculus XIV.] (Rome, Istituto Storico Domenicano, Santa Sabina, 1951, pp. xl, 519, \$5.00.) The early English Dominicans possessed none of those adventitious attractions which have helped to stimulate work on the activities of their Franciscan contemporaries—neither a romantic figure as founder of their order, nor a Thomas of Eccleston to record the intimacies of their daily life, nor a Robert Grosseteste to preside over their school at Oxford. Yet their role in the life of the English church was no less important than that of the Franciscans. Father Hinnebusch's book is especially welcome as the first comprehensive survey of the Dominican settlement in England and of the activities and influence of the English Friars Preachers in the thirteenth century. The work begins with a detailed topographical account of the Dominican foundations at Oxford and London and proceeds to a more summary description of the establishment of the other forty-six houses of the English province. In this section the houses are classified according to the rank of their founders and the author maintains—it is a recurrent theme in his work—that the importance of royal patronage in the growth of the order has usually been exaggerated in the past.

The description of the separate foundations is followed by a study of the characteristics of English Dominican architecture. Several chapters are then devoted to an account of the daily lives of the friars which considers both the spiritual and economic aspects of their work and lays special emphasis on the formation of the friars for their essential vocation as preachers. In his final chapters the author turns from the internal life of the order to its external influence—on the intellectual life of the times, on ecclesiastical affairs, and on political and constitutional developments. Father Hinnebusch writes with a sort of judicious partisanship which adds a certain zest to his pages without being permitted seriously to distort his judgments. He is eager to defend the Dominicans against charges of undue subservience to the great and undue magnificence in their buildings, and stresses on every possible occasion their cordial relations with "the common people." Inevitably, perhaps, there is some unevenness of treatment. The topographical and architectural sections provide an admirable synthesis of the author's own careful researches with a mass of material scattered in the volumes of the "Victoria County Histories" and the journals of county archaeological societies. By contrast, the treatment of the Dominicans' part in public affairs and political controversies seems almost perfunctory. The impression arises partly from variations in the adequacy of source material available for different topics, partly also from the fact that no one volume could attempt to do justice to all the aspects of such a rich subject. Father Hinnebusch himself is of course well aware of the fact. His work is not presented as a definitive study of every phase of Dominican life but rather as a starting point for further research. As such it should prove indispensable to future workers. The book is illustrated with twenty-five plates and twenty text figures and is equipped with a serviceable bibliography and an index.

BRIAN TIERNEY, *Catholic University of America*

ANNALS OF GHENT [ANNALES GANDENSES]. Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes by *Hilda Johnstone*, Emeritus Professor of History, University of London. [Medieval Classics.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. xxix, 105, \$3.50.) The reading of chronicles and annals is less fashionable today than was once the mode in historical circles. Works of this sort still have much to offer those who have the patience to follow an author recording what was important to him and his contemporaries. Too often, however, the medieval writer is silent concerning those things most interesting for the modern student. This is certainly true of the unknown Franciscan author of the *Annals of Ghent*. He writes well, indeed with force and frequently with imagination; but we find his long descriptions of feudal relationships somewhat tedious to follow and could spare a few of the names for more of the pithy comment he knew so well how to make. The *Annals* cover those important years from 1297 to 1308 and describe in considerable detail from the Flemish point of view the feudal struggle between English, French, and Flemish for control in Flanders. The author is well informed, writes as one who must have known, at least from sight, many of the figures he describes so well. He tells what he has seen and heard and, certainly, he is to be forgiven tricks of memory that occasionally explain a faulty chronology. The facts of these momentous years are sufficiently well known to permit the average reader of this fine translation to follow the medieval writer's narrative with little difficulty and those familiar with the earlier pages of Froissart will meet here a kindred spirit, though often of a different point of view. Even those for whom the intricacies of the struggle in Flanders is a familiar theme, will learn much from these *Annals*. Possibly the most impressive element in the story is the fact of its

complexity. As Miss Johnstone remarks in her clear, helpful introduction, "If Edward I and Philip IV failed to grasp the essentials of the Flemish situation, it is natural that it should present difficulties to observers in modern times." Edward and Philip understood feudal ambitions well enough, but neither did, nor could, understand the local, separatist, patriotism rampant in the Flemish towns and the lines of social and political cleavage there that lay back of much that was to trouble each contestant. In brief, this is good reading. Miss Johnstone has wisely provided genealogical tables and a helpful map, both essential for understanding the author's narrative. The editors of the series have given us another volume reflecting the high standards they demand of their contributors.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

GUIDE TO SOURCES OF ENGLISH HISTORY FROM 1603 TO 1660 IN REPORTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS. By *Eleanor Stuart Upton*, with the Collaboration of *George P. Winship, Jr.* (Washington, Scarecrow Press, 1952, pp. xxviii, 151, \$3.50.) This book will be welcomed by all scholars who have struggled with the early reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It is intended to assist in the extraction of material relating to English history between 1603 and 1660 from the first nine reports and from later reports on collections considered in the first nine. But if one is looking for persons or places, he will not find direct references here. The *Guide* is a subject index of topics other than persons or places, with reference to volume and page of the reports, the main heads in alphabetical order and the subheads arranged discretionally. The *Guide*, moreover, refers only to the inspectors' reports on collections in England or Wales in private hands at

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the time the reports were issued. Four collections are missing because of calendaring while the *Guide* was in process: the De la Warr and Sackville collection known as the Knoles MSS, the Salisbury MSS, and the De Lisle and Dudley MSS. Subject to these limitations, the *Guide* is a useful little book.

WILLARD M. WALLACE, *Wesleyan University*

TAVISTOCK ABBEY: A STUDY IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF DEVON. By *H. P. R. Finberg*. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume II.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 320, \$5.00.) Mr. Finberg has given us an example of local history as it should be written, not as antiquarian research but as an analysis of interest beyond the confines of Tavistock or Devon. Though some themes in the history of the abbey—its social structure, stannary, and the techniques of food production—were marked by local peculiarities, others (such as seigniorial revenues) have a more general validity. The conclusions are documented by charts on sales and prices of wool, statistics of dairy produces, abbey expenses, etc. A chapter on the monastic economy sums up both the liabilities and the exploitation of assets. On the whole the abbey made the most of its assets, and especially the agrarian economy reveals itself as one of sound farming for which Devon as a whole had acquired a reputation. Here, as elsewhere, the monk-farmers became transformed into monk-wardens by the end of the fourteenth century, and these in turn were superseded by lay surveyors. Thus, while the monks led a busy life of prayer and economic activity, the share of the laity in the management of their estates continued to grow. The book is also of significance for the historian of the Reformation. Not only is the story brought up to the dissolution but we are given an insight into the administrative history of an abbey which seemed to be one of "golden mediocrity." Nevertheless, when the crown, Lord Russell, and the parish took over the various temporal functions of the abbey, many neighbors and tenants would gladly have welcomed the monks back. Mr. Finberg concludes that no comparably civilized institution took the abbey's place. In the long run, however, secular society did manage to replace the social services of the monastic orders, even if we are apt to glance enviously upon the "ordered society" of that handful of monks who lived out their busy lives amid the architectural splendor of Tavistock Abbey.

GEORGE L. MOSSE, *State University of Iowa*

HOBBS AND HIS CRITICS: A STUDY IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONSTITUTIONALISM. By *John Bowle*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1952, pp. 215, \$2.75.) The dictatorships that have swept over Europe during the past thirty years have made for a revival of interest in the doctrines of Hobbes and of his opponents. Mr. John Bowle, of Wadham College, Oxford, has written an incisive, lucid account of this subject. He is the author of two able works, *Western Political Thought* (from the origins to Rousseau) and *The Unity of European History*, and hence brings to bear on his theme broad learning and a balanced judgment. Utilizing his mastery of the relevant sources and a fine historical imagination, he brings to life the personalities as well as the ideas of Hobbes and such representative critics as Sir Robert Filmer, Alexander Rosse, Dr. Seth Ward, the Reverend William Lucy, George Lawson, Philip Hunton, Bishop Bramhall, Dr. John Eachard, Lord Clarendon, and John Whitehall. With great skill Mr. Bowle recreates the climate of opinion of the age and shows how shocking and startling an impression Hobbes made upon his contemporaries, an aspect of Hobbes's life and times which has been curiously neglected.

This volume remedies that situation; it also throws light on the debt Locke owed to men like Lawson and Hunton writing in the middle seventeenth century. Here it reinforces the new position on the background of Locke's ideas presented in J. W. Gough, *John Locke's Political Philosophy*. The conclusions of Mr. Bowle's compact and charming study may be summarized as follows. Hobbes's critics, in attacking his denial of a superior standard by which government can be judged and his malignant view of human nature, assert views that reflect a basic psychological need—a need for a mystical sanction for society and for confidence in human impulse for mutual aid. Their case cannot be proved; it remains a matter of faith and opinion. On two other points Mr. Bowle agrees with Hobbes's critics: (1) the need for a constitution rationalizing the custom of a commonwealth and embodying the distinction between government and society; (2) the argument that arbitrary power and intellectual tyranny make for inefficiency while government by consent within a framework of known standing laws makes for a more creative society. Most readers will agree in general with the author's analysis and sentiments. I wish, however, that he had taken into consideration some of the points made by two American naturalists and pragmatists: John Dewey in "The Motivation of Hobbes's Political Philosophy," Columbia University, *Studies in the History of Ideas*, I, 88–115, and Sterling P. Lamprecht, "Hobbes and Hobbism," *American Political Science Review*, XXXIV (February, 1940), 31–53. Another aspect of Hobbes would then have to receive more attention and weight than Mr. Bowle gives him.

SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE FOX. Revised edition by John L. Nickalls. With an Epilogue by Henry J. Cadbury and an Introduction by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. xlviii, 789, \$4.50.) In Quakerism *The Journal of George Fox* holds a somewhat similar place to that of the King James Bible in English-speaking Protestantism. While Fox lacks the scholarship, the polish, and the style of the great writers of English prose in the seventeenth century, his *Journal* exhibits the freshness and vitality of that most extraordinary age. Members of the Society of Friends, at least in past generations, have read Fox as thoroughly if not as frequently as they have their Bibles. It is appropriate, for the Friends at least, that a new and revised edition of the *Journal* should come out at the same time as the complete Revised Standard Version of the English Bible. Like the Revised Version, this new edition of Fox utilizes modern scholarship to present his autobiography in form, content, and price adapted to modern readers. When Thomas Ellwood edited the great folio *Journal* which English Friends published in 1694—and all subsequent editions except the Cambridge *verbatim et literatim* edition of 1911 followed Ellwood's text—he took liberties with the original manuscript which cannot be accepted today. For various reasons he omitted some passages, changed others, and put a great deal into Fox's mouth (everything after 1676) which derived from other sources. Fox's principal manuscript *Journal* covers only the years 1650–1676. The present editor, librarian of the Friends Library in London, has used the Ellwood account for the earlier years of Fox's life; but here, as elsewhere, he has identified his material so that the reader always knows from what source the narrative comes. Later he uses other first-hand material where the *Journal* is deficient, but never without identifying its source. Doctrinal papers Mr. Nickalls has compressed to their bare biographical bones, but with references to the complete text for those who wish it. Professor Henry J. Cadbury, the foremost student of seventeenth-century Quakerism in this country,

fills out the story after 1676 with a succinct biographical essay; William Penn's splendid estimate of Fox's character, written for the first edition, contrasts interestingly with a brief analysis of the man and his Journal by a modern British student of the period. The editor and his collaborators have done a most satisfactory job in bringing this primary Quaker document back into print in a form which should also bring it back into use. General students of the period will employ it with profit. A generation of Quakers who have grown up without the Journal may now turn to it to strengthen their faith in the importance of the Quaker testimony to the "Light of Christ Within."

THOMAS E. DRAKE, *Haverford College*

A SHORT HISTORY OF IRELAND. By J. C. Beckett, Lecturer in Modern History in the Queen's University of Belfast. [Hutchinson's University Library: History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. viii, 208, trade \$2.25, text \$1.80.) To write a history of Ireland in little more than two hundred pages and to present it in a form that has any meaning is something of an achievement. That is what Mr. Beckett has done. Not all his readers will agree with his interpretation. There is, for example, rather too much emphasis on the idea of defense as a sufficient explanation of British policy; and less attention has been given to economic and social problems than the facts of Irish history would seem to require. But no one can fail to be impressed with his skill in handling detail and with the spirit of objectivity that marks his work. The book does not quite measure up to the standard of some volumes in this series; and for serious students it can hardly be regarded as a substitute for some earlier general histories of Ireland. But it is a useful introduction to the subject, written in a manner that makes it a pleasure to read. The book is described as a "history of the Irish nation." It is in fact a simple political narrative. Mr. Beckett does not define his terms, and it is often a little difficult to know just what he means by the Irish nation. He observes, for example, that "there was nothing incongruous about the Protestant minority describing itself as the Irish nation," since political power went with the possession of property. Nothing incongruous perhaps, but the description bore no relation to the realities of Irish life; and a more careful consideration of the way in which the property was acquired and of the mental attitude which induced the description would have made this a better book. That is certainly not the view of the Irish nation held by a statesman like Grattan. But Mr. Beckett is apparently not interested in Grattan's larger concept of national unity; and he says virtually nothing of his efforts to reunite the divided sections of the Irish people, nor of the experiment in self-government within the empire which he inaugurated. Other constitutional questions are also dealt with rather too briefly. The facts of the Union are related accurately; but there is little or no comment on Pitt's larger plans, and nothing to indicate that the simple constitutional adjustment embodied in the Act of 1800 fell short of the over-all change which he had in mind. Like most conservative writers Mr. Beckett evidently regards this truncated measure as a real union. He is obviously handicapped by the wealth of material on the nineteenth century, and his chapter on that period is too crowded. The reader gets but a faint impression of such men as O'Connell, Parnell, and Redmond, and of what they were attempting to do. But nowhere is the author's objectivity more evident than in his handling of the contentious issues which these names represent. A final section explains the settlement of 1921 and the principal events in the history of the country since that date. A useful bibliography will serve to guide the student to further reading.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LOUIS XIV ET LES PROTESTANTS. By Jean Orcibal. [Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire ecclésiastique de la France.] (Paris, J. Vrin, 1951, pp. 192.) This study by one of the most distinguished historians of religious movements in the seventeenth century may well become the classic exposition of the problems involved in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Unlike many of his predecessors who have used the history of the Huguenots to belabor monarchism, Catholicism, and clericalism, the historian of the Jansenist movement has treated the subject as an integral part of the historical process of the seventeenth century, and thereby again has placed all his colleagues deeply in his debt. His analysis of the several policies that Louis' government successively adopted toward the R.P.R. presents an interesting picture of the processes of government in the seventeenth century. There seems to be little doubt that any program calculated to wipe out the cult was doomed to failure. But, given the personalities and the structure of Louis' government, it is not surprising that violence and compulsion were finally attempted. Professor Orcibal skillfully traces the decisions that led to this program of action, and shows how, in turn, the decisions taken made other solutions (reunion, for example) impossible. The long sustained thesis that Madame de Maintenon and P. La Chaise were responsible for the Edict of Fontainebleau is here buried under an avalanche of evidence. It is curious that the Calvinist propagandists in Cologne were able to sell subsequent generations their ready-made hypothesis for so many years. M. Orcibal has also abandoned the usual French explanation for the wars of 1683 and 1688-97 and with it the conventional thesis, recently defended by Saint Leger and Sagnac in their volume in the series "Peuples et civilisations," *Louis XIV, 1661-1715*, that the Edict of Fontainebleau was largely responsible for the disasters of the last twenty-five years of Louis' reign. It is gratifying to find a French historian who shows himself to be completely familiar with the larger problems and the literature of the European historical process as well as with the history of France. It is unfortunate that M. Orcibal's style does not always match the excellence of his scholarship and the freshness of his insights, but anyone interested in the religious history of the seventeenth century will quickly forgive an occasional murky paragraph, if for nothing else than the excellent bibliographical indication in his copious footnotes.

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THE QUEEN'S INVALID: A BIOGRAPHY OF PAUL SCARRON. By Naomi Forsythe Phelps. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1951, pp. 289, \$4.00.) The crippled

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

Scarron is probably best known to historians as the first "husband" of Mme. de Maintenon—what a marital life must have been hers! Nevertheless, the poet did play a role in politics, though in the wings rather than on stage. The rhymesters of the Fronde adopted his burlesque style for their verses, some even his name. He swiftly denied his paternity, for in 1648 and 1649 he was anxious only about his pension of five hundred crowns as Anne of Austria's *malade en titre*, and about the blockade of Paris which interfered with the supplying of the city's markets. (Of all his body, only his stomach and his tongue remained vigorous to the end.) Whether the cardinal refused to credit his denials or whether the confusion of a court constantly on the run prevented, the pension ceased to be paid. In 1650 his apartment near the Luxembourg became a meeting place of the leading Frondeurs, Mlle. de Montpensier and Cardinal de Retz included. His *Mazarinade*, published anonymously in 1651, was one of the most thorough indictments to appear, pillorying the cardinal not only for his political crimes but also for some discreditable escapades when a student in Spain. Its title has become the generic term for the thousands of libels in prose and in verse which the Frondeurs poured out from their clandestine presses. Mrs. Phelps's book is the first full-length biography of the poet in English. She has based her work upon the firm ground established by such scholars as Morillot, Boislisle, and Magne. Consequently, there is little in this biography not known to those familiar with French scholarship. She does add, however, to the speculation concerning the exact nature of the disease which twisted Scarron's body into helplessness. Together with her husband, Dr. Winthrop M. Phelps, and Drs. Alfred Shands and Sidney Keats, she has concluded that the queen's invalid suffered not from Pott's disease, nor from tuberculous ankylosing rheumatism in the form of spondylose rhizomélisque, but from rheumatoid (atrophic) arthritis. Scarron would have loved those words.

J. B. SIRICH, *University of Illinois*

SOCIAL ROMANTICISM IN FRANCE, 1830-1848: WITH A SELECTIVE CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. By *David Owen Evans*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. 149, \$3.00.) In 104 pages, the author describes the abuses of the Industrial Revolution in France, the history of French radical thought from Saint-Simon and Fourier to Proudhon, and the effect of all this on the leading writers of the time: Georges Sand, Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Balzac, and others. His account shows clearly that it was these popular authors rather than the radical theorists who carried the new ideas of social reform to millions in France and beyond. Fully as valuable as the essay is a long critical bibliography of the history of French socialism in the first half of the nineteenth century. This little book is a model of compression, brief yet comprehensive, packed with matter yet clear and easy to read. At the same time, it is accurate in fact and impartial in its treatment of controversial subjects, and is evidently the distillation of a wide-ranging and profound scholarship. It remains a pity that the account could not be more loose-textured, and that some aspects of the subject are not more fully and adequately exposed. The essay and its remarkable bibliography as it stands, however, should not be missed by any student of French history or of French literature of the period between the two Napoleons.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

- HET OUDE GESLACHT VAN FOREEST, 1250-1570. By Jhr. H. A. van Foreest. (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1950, pp. 206, 15 guilders.) Although the *Review* does not customarily devote space to reviews of genealogies, an exception is clearly in order

for Jhr. Van Foreest's history of his medieval ancestry. While the writing of this book was prompted by a desire to vindicate the title of the Van Foreest family to ancient nobility, the author has not been content to establish this title merely by genealogical methods. Instead he has written what amounts to a thoroughly documented case history of the social development of the nobility in the northern Netherlands from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. Within this span of three hundred years we witness the gradual transformation of Van Foreest from a noble family of small feudal landholders into one of city magistrates who, but for their coat of arms and their exercise of the right to hunt small game, were barely distinguishable from the urban patriciate of non-noble origin. Toward the very end of this period some Van Foreests took up medicine, one of them even becoming the private physician of the Prince of Orange. The account of this social evolution is both interesting and competent. The author, though by profession a naval officer, has handled the considerable technical problems peculiar to research in the history of the Middle Ages in a manner that would reflect credit upon any professional historian. While relying primarily upon family records, he has read widely in the printed and archival sources for this period; moreover he is thoroughly conversant with the relevant professional literature. By comparing constantly his own findings with those of experts like Gosses, Immink, Enklaar, Monté verLoren, and others, Admiral Van Foreest has lent perspective to a story which in its own right commands attention because of its fresh approach, the inclusion of authentic new data, and the lively manner in which it is told. The Van Foreest genealogy must for all these reasons be considered a valuable addition to the still rather limited literature on the social history of the nobility in the northern Netherlands. B. H. W.

THE PAGEANT OF NETHERLANDS HISTORY. By *Adriaan J. Barnouw*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. xi, 370, \$4.50.) Dr. Barnouw's writings are distinguished not only by a charming prose style in the tradition of the best English essayists but also by a visual rather than analytical approach to their subject. As is perhaps appropriate to a writer who is also an amateur painter of merit, Dr. Barnouw is a master of the historical vignette; many of his paragraphs remind one of the small canvasses of the seventeenth-century Dutch genre painters. With his artistry Dr. Barnouw combines seasoned scholarship. A philologist by training, he was for more than twenty-five years Queen Wilhelmina professor of the history, language, and literature of the Netherlands at Columbia University. Thus he brings to his subject the accumulated knowledge of a lifetime. His intimate acquaintance with the literary sources of Dutch social and cultural history frequently enables him to refurbish the conventional picture of Dutch history through the introduction of little-known illustrative material. All this is abundantly evident in Dr. Barnouw's latest book. In a way, this *Pageant of Netherlands History* constitutes a companion volume to *The Dutch: A Portrait Study of the People of Holland*, which was published in 1940. Both books concern themselves with the people of the Netherlands, their manners, customs, beliefs, and literary, artistic, and scientific achievements. But whereas the earlier volume painted a static picture of present-day Dutch civilization, the *Pageant* depicts its historical development in a procession of *tableaux vivants*, each of which illustrates an important phase of this development. The incidents and persons chosen for this pageant of Dutch cultural history obviously reflect the author's personal preference and taste. It is a tribute to Dr. Barnouw's good judgment and scholarship that his selection cannot be termed arbitrary. Nevertheless, those of us who believe that

political institutions provided the mold within which the character of the Dutch nation was formed will be disappointed by the deliberate exclusion of nearly all political, diplomatic, or military history from this *Pageant*. Likewise those who do not share the so-called "Greater Netherlands" view of Dutch history may question the propriety of including occasional scenes from the history of the Spanish and Austrian Netherlands and of the Flemish movement after 1830. Much of the material included in *The Pageant of Netherlands History* was first published in the form of monthly letters to the members of the Netherland-America Foundation. Admirers of those charming essays will be delighted to renew their acquaintance with some of their old favorites and will derive added satisfaction from the knowledge that in their new setting they are destined to find the wider audience which they so fully deserve.

B. H. W.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

GRUNDTVIG. By *Hal Koch*, Professor of Church History, University of Copenhagen. Translated from the Danish, with Introduction and Notes, by *Llewellyn Jones*. (Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1952, pp. xx, 231, \$3.50.) For several decades Denmark has been an almost mystic ideal to some American intellectuals. For reasons hard to understand the Danes seem to have been able to solve the economic and social problems of the present time without a huge and growing governmental apparatus. The more conspicuous institutions through which the Danish people function, especially the church and the Folk High School and co-operation, have been known and emulated by many groups, but without the success that these movements have had in Denmark. Many Americans have known that back of the religious, educational, and cultural life of Denmark stands the shadow of a man named Grundtvig. But when he lived, what were the circumstances of his life, what were his ideas, and how Danish thought became seemingly forever colored by his own, few Americans know. And with good reason. Little or nothing has been printed in English about N. S. F. Grundtvig (1783-1872). Llewellyn Jones has done a major service to English-speaking students of Scandinavian history in translating Professor Hal Koch's book. Though a little book, both in size and in proportion to its subject, Koch's *Grundtvig* is just about the only one in Danish worthy of a translation. Earlier biographies have been uncritical and inadequately based on sources. Koch, one of the editors of the great, definitive collection of Grundtvig's writings, had access to all the best sources and used them with discrimination. Actually, this book is more an exposition of Grundtvig's thought than it is a biography, for only the barely necessary biographical details are presented. To English and American readers it is a further handicap that Grundtvig is not painted against the indispensable background of contemporary Danish history. Only those who know that history can fully appreciate this work and especially Grundtvig's own contributions. Dr. Jones had been aware that certain episodes in Danish history require explanation and has supplied some such explanations in the otherwise copious and learned notes. Yet we find no introduction whatever of the Danish pietists (p. 67); and the British attack on Copenhagen in 1801 is confused with that of 1807 (p. 204). But there is more than enough information here to whet the appetite of the student of intellectual history. And if Brandes or Kierkegaard merit the attention we now give them, Grundtvig deserves it even more.

BRYN J. HOVDE, *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

NORTH NORWAY: A HISTORY. By *Frank Noel Stagg*. (London, George Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 205, \$4.25.) Enthusiasm is often mistaken for knowledge, and facts for understanding. Commander Frank Noel Stagg's enthusiasm and facts are little preparation for a study of North Norway. This frontier land, presently being developed through government planning and monetary assistance, will in the future constitute a reservoir of profit and economic strength, while remaining a dangerous military weakness. The faults in Commander Stagg's writing are his failure to weave details together, his neglect of the more recent story, and the inclusion of an overabundance of unimportant minutiae which offer no significant data and provide no information. Cities built in the twentieth century, people who have migrated into the region, large-scale projects and industries launched since World

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

War II are among the developments left unmentioned by the author. What value the book has lies in its being the first historical account of North Norway as a region. In Viking times the region was the center of political events of great importance for the Norwegian kingdom, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries its fish furnished a marketable item for western Norwegian trade with England. Commander Stagg should be complimented on his courage and criticized for his failure to write more interestingly and more fully on modern North Norway. Norwegians will thank him for his enthusiasm but will add the book to the collection of trivia which foreigners write about their country.

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN, *University of Wisconsin*

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

FRIEDRICH LIST. By *Carl Brinkmann*. (Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1949, pp. 359, DM 16.45.) Students of the history of economic thought are under obligation to the German economist Carl Brinkmann, who has written, if not the definitive work, a comprehensive and interesting biography of Friedrich List. The present volume should serve as a useful introduction and guide to the collected works edited by the Friedrich List Gesellschaft. As Brinkmann shows rather conclusively, List was influenced by many contemporary ideas not only on the Continent but also in England and especially in the United States, where he spent some years in political exile. However, he cannot easily be classified as belonging to this or that school, although some of his ideas resemble those of the Romantics and occasionally he has been considered a forerunner of the German historical school. While there is an element of truth in this, List was essentially outside the main current of economic thought. It is probably also correct to say that on the whole his work has not been given too much attention by professional historians and economists. Among historians his scheme of different phases of economic development has not survived in its original form; among economists List has never been considered quite respectable. In economics his name today is usually associated with the case for protection of new industries, i.e., the so-called infant industry argument, but even here it can be pointed out that a similar argument can be found among contemporaries belonging to the classical school. A study of Brinkmann's book is likely to lead the reader to revise certain of the views just described. While it is true that many of his concepts and theories could not pass the tests we apply today, he was in spite of all shortcomings one of the outstanding German economists in the nineteenth century. Quite apart from being a brilliant writer, he had insights that distinguish him from the run-of-the-mill economists in the infancy of German economics. What first of all gives List stature is his attempt to include in his system historical forces which were usually left out by the Classicists. Rather than centering his attention on the individual firms and consumers in a static setting, he investigated the conditions under which the nation can develop its productive resources given the unequal development of the world economy. Among possible policies List was not only interested in such negative measures as protective tariffs; on the contrary, one of his major activities consisted in developing and propagating ideas about a German railroad system as a necessary basis for an industrial economy. All of this is described very vividly by Brinkmann. Unfortunately, however,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the book is primarily descriptive. In this reviewer's opinion its value would have been increased by a more critical analysis of List's ideas from the vantage point of modern economic theory. This would have been particularly interesting because similar problems today are very much in the foreground of discussions of measures which underdeveloped countries may take in order to raise their standards of living.

SVEND LAURSEN, *Brandeis University*

DER BURSCHENSCHAFTER WOLFGANG MENZEL. By *Erwin Schuppe*. (Frankfurt a.M., Verlag L. Schulte-Bulmke, 1952, pp. 123, DM 6.30.) The author, a German historian, presents his work as a contribution to the understanding of National Socialism and its origins. Fortunately a growing number of German historians clearly recognize that the unfortunate road which the German nation traveled did not start in 1933 but goes back at least to the War of Liberation of 1812. Most of the ideas which Hitler popularized among the Germans can be found in Wolfgang Menzel, who was fourteen years old in 1812, the year of the first "*Aufbruch des deutschen Volkes*"; he died in 1873, after Bismarck had expanded Prussia into most of Germany. In his younger years, Menzel was a fervent adherent of Arndt and Jahn, a member of the gymnastic movement, the Turnerschaft, and of the patriotic student organizations, the Burschenschaft. While still a young man he became editor of the literary supplement of the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, and from then on he was the most influential literary critic in Germany. Menzel, known to most today only from Heine's disparaging judgments, was a man of high ethical ideals and great moral seriousness, noble qualities which he put into the service of a narrow and fanatical cause. He hated the West—especially the French—with an all-consuming fire in which he hoped that all the ideas which the Enlightenment and rationalism had brought to Germany would be destroyed. Hatred against everything alien, especially against everything Western, seemed to him an indispensable complement to German patriotism—and many of the quotations in the book remind the reader not only of National Socialist rantings twenty years ago but of Russian Communist articles today. As in these cases, Menzel demanded that the author and artist should above all serve national purposes. He did not recognize any autonomy of intellectual life; everything had to become politicized and nationalized. Therefore he also rejected Goethe and German classicism. His ideal was not the harmonious formation of the individual but the individual's usefulness for the group. Dr. Schuppe's book should be widely read by students of modern Germany. Though Menzel regarded himself as a conservative, he represented in reality a deeply revolutionary force which sought not to preserve the German traditions which tied Germany to the rest of Europe but to destroy the rational and universal civilization which was the heritage of Europe and of Germany. A German conservative, Karl Adolf Menzel—not a relative of Wolfgang—saw that clearly when he wrote in 1820 about Jahn's gymnasts and their Germano-centered nationalism: "This hostile fury, to which you strive in the midst of peace to excite the hearts of the youth against a whole people, these truly cannibalistic war-songs which you make the young people sing, this lamentable doctrine that God will not abandon his Germans . . . all this is not Christian and German, but pagan and Jewish, Jewish in the worst sense of the word." Wolfgang Menzel and his friends regarded distrust and hatred of the alien as a moral quality, and without understanding yet the full consequences of what they were doing, relativized all moral concepts. The struggle for the preservation of a pure and undefiled German species became the supreme value, and in the struggle for its realization nobody was allowed to remain indifferent. The root of this idolization of one's own group in an

irrational and semireligious, though originally not ignoble, enthusiasm has been well presented by Dr. Schuppe in the many quotations from Wolfgang Menzel's now long-forgotten and yet still potent writings. HANS KOHN, *City College of New York*

DAS ENDE DER MONARCHIE AM 9. NOVEMBER 1918: ABSCHLIESSENDER BERICHT NACH DEN AUSSAGEN DER BETEILIGTEN. By *Kuno Graf von Westarp*. With an Epilogue by *Werner Conze*. (Berlin, Helmut Rauschenbusch, 1952, pp. 216, DM 9.20.) This book is an important addition to the record of the immediate events that brought the end of the Hohenzollern monarchy in Germany and Prussia. It is a somewhat abridged extract from the unpublished and uncompleted memoirs written quietly toward the end of the thirties by the late Count Westarp, right-hand man of the Conservative leader, Ernst von Heydebrand. Count Westarp was the most prominent representative of the loyal Prussian school and the leading Nationalist political figure of the Weimar years. No official protocol had been drawn up at the time of the dramatic discussions at the imperial headquarters in Spa on and before November 9, 1918. However, a serious polemic threatened to break out in the spring of 1919 as a result of the publication of memorandums by those participants (von Plessen, Baron Marschall-Greif, and particularly Count von der Schulenburg) who had been bitterly opposed to the views presented by Hindenburg and his new first quartermaster-general, Wilhelm Groener. These views they felt were responsible for the kaiser's acceptance of the *fait accompli* of the abdication forged by Prince Max of Baden, and for William II's decision to leave the country. To prevent a division among men of the Right, which would help only the hated Republic and the still struggling Social Democracy, the persons involved at Spa entrusted Count Westarp with the task of formulating for publication a compromise protocol. The resulting protocol, published in the press on July 27, 1919, has long been available, together with other pertinent documents, in Alfred Niemann's *Revolution von oben—Umsturz von unten* (1928). Now the Westarp book relates in painstaking detail the negotiations behind that protocol, discussing frankly controversial points and explaining important gaps in its contents. The editor remarks in his epilogue that Hindenburg suffered until his death from the fact that on the ninth of November he allowed Groener's rational view to predominate over the vassal loyalty of Schulenburg. Most interesting in these pages is the repeated evidence of Hindenburg's attempt to satisfy the kaiser's desire that his advisers publicly assume responsibility for the advice they offered and for the ensuing events of those crucial hours; at the same time Hindenburg's own greatest concern was to prove the joint responsibility of the emperor's advisers so that he and Groener might avoid assuming sole responsibility. Westarp's own uncensored viewpoint regarding these persons is also a useful addition to our scant political information from the Right. While concentrating his criticism on Max of Baden, and particularly on Groener, Westarp really does not localize the "blame," but extends it fairly even to the kaiser and to the model of classic Prussian loyalty he saw in Count von der Schulenburg. The editor's epilogue helps the general reader to place this material in a politically more impartial perspective, using for example the Groener documents recently published by Reginald H. Phelps in the *Deutsche Rundschau* (no. 76, 1950, and following). A helpful biographical index is also provided.

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Near Eastern History

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NAVAL WARS IN THE LEVANT, 1559-1853. By R. C. Anderson. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. ix, 619, \$7.50.) It is indeed fortunate that Dr. Anderson, whose studies in the field of maritime development have been so fruitful, has added to his volume on *Naval Wars of the Baltic* this new résumé on the naval history of the Levant from the sixteenth through the mid-nineteenth century. In so doing Dr. Anderson has illumined many dark corners for the general historian as well as the naval specialist. The result is a general, useful framework which supersedes many interpretations drawn from the works of De la Roncière, Corbett, Wiel, and others. Drawing heavily upon Italian and Russian materials he has added much to our knowledge of the total scene. Among the most important contributions of this volume is its reassessment of the results of the victory of Lepanto which Dr. Anderson shows was less important than has frequently been assumed, his proof that the Turkish renaissance of the Koprilis was as important on the sea as on the land in the Cretan Wars of 1645-1669, and his handling of the interesting and complex story of the entrance of Russian forces into the naval picture of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition his account of the growth of the Russian Black Sea fleet from the time of Peter the Great on is the first time this subject has been adequately treated in English. So too his study of the gradual replacing of the oared galley by the northern European sailing ship is extremely important and changes some widely held conceptions. Other significant contributions which emerge from his work are the role of the Knights of Malta as the raiding counterpart of the Barbary Coast pirates and the role of sea power in the Wars of Greek Independence and the struggle which followed with Mehemet Ali. It is unfortunate however that the technical and tactical fullness of Dr. Anderson's account has made it difficult for him to broaden his narrative sufficiently to go beyond the purely naval picture to show more of the political and economic implications of his story. These are often implicit in his writing but might have been more pointedly

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

presented. Despite this, his work in both its direct information and the implications which other historians will draw from it is of great importance to all historians of this period and the general reader interested in naval development.

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Far Eastern History

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INDIA AND THE PASSING OF EMPIRE. By Sir George Dunbar. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. 225, \$4.75.) *India and the Passing of Empire* has the merit of maintaining in print for the reading public a selected body of facts, chiefly political and military, pertaining to the history of India. Despite his prefatory disclaimer, Dunbar has presented Indian history "in a nutshell." "Passing of Empire," unless the author means that empire perpetually passes in India, is not well borne out in the text since Dunbar gives increasing space in each case to the rise and the duration as well as to the "passing" of the Indian empire of Alexander of Macedon, the Mauryan Empire, the Kushana Empire, the Gupta Empire, the Ghaznavid, Tughlak, and other Muslim empires and kingdoms, the Great Mogul Empire, and finally in the last three quarters of the book, the British Empire. To the "passing" of the British Empire in India, Dunbar devotes but thirty-four pages. The book is obviously a British apology with lingering traces of the "white man's burden" complex. Dunbar's opening paragraph, for instance, contains the statement, "and there came the rule of a Western power over a vast Asiatic population, a rule that established political unity and peace, which India had not known for 2,000 years." Had he said that while Britain imposed political unity upon India, the Indian people had little peace, whereas now that the subcontinent is at peace, unity has been lost, he would better have summed up his factual evidence. After all, Britain, during the 190 years of British power, has engaged Indian soldiers either inside or outside of India in nearly twenty wars. Other statements like "India by the middle of the 18th century had fallen into the worst condition of masterless disorder the subcontinent had ever known," and "the two empires [Roman and British], whatever their faults and their failings, conferred more benefits upon mankind than any other widely imposed political system the world has known" are at least debatable. Also questionable is the existence of an "instinct for stabilized power" which Dunbar keeps insisting upon. An "instinct" is something one is born with. Is anyone born with a "political instinct"? The factual material which comprises more than 90 per cent of the book is largely beyond criticism except that little in the way of new research can be

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

detected. Dunbar, in common with some other writers, confuses *varna* with caste and then ignores more modern classifications in Indian society. The book is equipped with well-chosen footnotes, no bibliography, a helpful chronology, an accurate index, and excellent maps.

ELMER H. CUTTS, *Northeastern University*

CONQUERED PRESS: THE MACARTHUR ERA IN JAPANESE JOURNALISM. By William J. Coughlin. (Palo Alto, Calif., Pacific Books, 1952, pp. 165, \$3.00.) The Japanese are great newspaper readers. They buy the dailies in great quantities that build circulations into the millions. Before the American occupation the papers were sensational but their political news was strongly censored. The readers found out only what it was considered proper for them to know. A new era opened with the establishment of the occupation in 1945. In time it introduced real freedom of the press. The improvement in the flow of information to the Japanese public is all the more remarkable in view of the occupation's policy of censoring foreign correspondents' dispatches about what was going on in Japan. This bad example did not disturb the progress toward internal reform. The SCAP trained newspapermen in Western traditions of free and responsible reporting and helped the papers in their struggles against Communist domination. This accomplishment of the occupation did not come at once. At the outset, SCAP, while pressing upon Japan a new constitution which called for press freedom, introduced a system of prepublication censorship which harassed editors and kept readers in the dark. Once a reference to the Russo-Japanese war was deleted from a story on the grounds that it was "best that Japan forget" the war. Criticisms of the occupation's internal economic policy were forbidden. But this censorship ended in 1948. Mr. Coughlin's book is rich in information and analysis of the democratization of the press in Japan, and thus throws some light on the prospects for Japan's continuing to govern itself sensibly now that the occupation has gone and freedom of the press remains. A United Press correspondent, the author made his inquiry and wrote his book as a Melville Jacoby Fellow for the Study of Far Eastern Affairs.

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

GEOGRAPHY IN THE MAKING: THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, 1851-1951. By John Kirtland Wright. Foreword by Richard Upjohn Light, President of the Society. (New York, American Geographical Society, 1952, pp. xxi, 437, \$5.00.) *Geography in the Making* is far more than a history of the American Geographical Society. It is a book that blends facts and statistics of the past hundred years with a story of people and events—people and events connected with the American Geographical Society to be sure, but also influential in the territorial expansion of the United States, the growth of American institutions, the development of foreign policies, and the evolution of geography in the United States. The author, Dr. John K. Wright, is no novice at historical writing, having done his doctoral dissertation at Harvard on "The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades" and, among many subsequent publications, a very popular book on *The Geographical Basis for European History*. In *Geography in the Making* he has produced a historical narrative in a geographical setting. It is the story of learned society development rather than of the American Geographical Society alone, and the geographical background and history of New York City and of America are woven into the story to give it depth and flavor. For each significant period in the growth of the American Geographical Society since 1850, Dr. Wright inductively presents a picture of the contemporary geographical setting and a story of pertinent events and important people that brought about changes in the society and in the basic philosophy of geography during those periods. For example, in the opening chapter of thirteen pages, four are devoted to a description of New York City in 1850, two describe improved transportation and communication connections and the interest of leading citizens in maps and geography. Gradually influential people of the period are introduced and their part in founding and developing the society seems perfectly logical. The general interest in physical rather than in human geography is described as the basis for an early orientation of the society toward exploration, description, and mapping of the earth. Following foreign trade contacts with Paraguay, Siam, and Japan, the polar expeditions of Elisha Kent Kane, and Livingstone's reports on Africa, geography took a statistical trend. Members of the society compiled studies on land use, soil deterioration, post office distribution, systems of weights and measures, and even taxation. Interest then shifted to the philosophic concepts of geography presented by Humboldt (physical), Ritter (human), and Guyot (religious). By the close of the Civil War, the society's objectives were resting on a tripod of scientists, businessmen, and missionaries. Thus the story develops from the early days of the society under Henry Grinnell and George Bancroft to the days of Archer Huntington, Isaiah Bowman, and the present director, George H. T. Kimble. The only shortcoming in this treatment of the American Geographical Society is the modesty that prevents Dr. Wright from doing full justice

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

to his own contributions to the society on whose staff he has worked diligently in many capacities since 1920, including that of director, 1938-49.

ARCH C. GERLACH, *Library of Congress*

UNITED STATES HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENTS. By *Ronald F. Lee*, Assistant Director, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. [Monumentos históricos y arqueológicos, II.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1951, pp. 121, \$12.50 [m. mex.]) *United States* is the second of a series of reports devoted to the policies, problems, and accomplishments, of each nation of the American continent, in the preservation and administration of its historical and archaeological monuments. The first, on Panama, was published in 1950. A general history of the preservation movement, both governmental and private, in the United States from 1850 to date precedes an analysis of the major national legislative acts relating to our historic sites. The criteria for the selection of such national monuments are briefly outlined, followed by a statement of the official restoration policy of the U.S. National Park Service. Mr. Lee points out that the National Park Service *Administrative Manual* dealing with technical administrative and professional aspects of park and monument conservation, as yet incomplete, is issued only in a limited edition, and that "a regrettably large number of technical reports on individual preservation projects, including some of the most important undertakings of recent years, are available only in manuscript form, if at all." The United States is probably outstanding for its educational policies and programs carried on by the Park Service, and Mr. Lee describes them in some detail, with justifiable pride. The administrative organization of the service, and a brief financial account for the fiscal year 1949-50 are given in very general terms. Discussion of the major types of problems which increasingly threaten the preservation movement closes on an optimistic note with an account of co-operative activities of other federal, state, and local agencies, and recent public participation by national, regional, state, and local organizations, and individual citizens. The appendixes give full texts of the Preservation of American Antiquities Act of 1906; the establishment of the National Park Service, 1916; the Historic Sites Act, 1935; the National Trust Act, 1949; and an eighteen-page list of historic monuments in the National Park System. A map and twenty-two photographs supplement the text. Necessarily limited in details, as a report of this nature must be, it serves to emphasize the need for more complete documentation on preservation, its history, techniques, practices, and policies, which should be available to all scholars in the field, national or international.

VIRGINIA DAIKER, *Library of Congress*

JOHN ADAMS, SCHOLAR. By *Alfred Iacuzzi*, Professor of Romance Languages, The City College, New York. (New York, S. F. Vanni, 1952, pp. xiv, 306.) There is little doubt that John Adams was one of the few scholarly men to play a commanding role in the shaping of the American nation. In the creative use of his reading, and in its breadth and depth, he is at home in the company of a Jefferson, a Madison, a Woodrow Wilson. But of all these men, it is fair to say that Adams had the greatest individuality—a statement that ensures him distinction but perhaps yokes him to his decided personality. Adams was salty, verry, excitable, and sometimes harsh. He was dogmatic, inconsistent, a genius at inventing phrases and generalizations. He called himself "John Yankee" and knew what he was doing. The present study is an effort to untangle the complex skeins of Adams' learned references, borrowings, and "influences"—particularly in that massive work lugubri-

ously entitled *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*. There is virtually no attempt to appraise Adams' ideas or estimate how creative was his use of borrowed sources. This work, in short, is conceived in the rigidly limited and somewhat formalized terms of language monographs in America. It is useful, nevertheless, for all who are interested in the intellectual world of John Adams, and it is valuable for its patient accumulation of data about Adams as a reader and commentator. It is not, however, full enough, nor subtle enough, to be, as the author maintains, "an intellectual biography of the second President of the United States."

ADRIENNE KOCH, *New York University*

THOMAS JEFFERSON: SCIENTIST. By *Edwin T. Martin*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1952, pp. x, 289, \$4.00.) In this book for the general public, Thomas Jefferson is presented as an amateur of science and devotee of the practical arts, so that we can evaluate the tradition that he was a distinguished product of the economic and technological outlook of the eighteenth century. Professor of English at Emory University, Dr. Martin has made no claim to add to the literature of scholarship, but his book is well documented, full of facts, and written in a clear and unpretentious style. Lightened by digressions and discursiveness, it reads quickly, in spite of some lack of pattern and a certain number of clichés and repetitions. The unspecialized reader may find that the story lacks drama and even continuity; only the debate with Buffon is treated at length, with the usual neglect of the background of the Old World scientist's viewpoint and some exaggeration of the patriot's victory. One gains the impression that everything came very easily for Jefferson and that as a result he did not have to think very deeply about the grounds of his belief in science, nor even about the nature and methods of science itself. The topical arrangement of the book tends to obscure the development of its subject and the evolution of science in his day. There are not even the elements of a chronology of Jefferson's career, nor consistent references to his places of residence, so that the reader who is not a Jeffersonian is often at a loss to know the relevance of certain comments. Similarly, if one does not know contemporary science and philosophy fairly well, the impression given by the book is perhaps unfair. Jefferson could hardly have been quite so indiscriminately omnivorous in his interests; one is probably wrong in concluding that he took up everything that came to hand and attained useful results in very little. Perhaps no other organization of all this material was possible; if that is so, one wonders if the rather negative impression left by the book is intended consciously. The positive contribution of the book lies in its survey of Jefferson's intellectual interests, ranging from geology to musical instruments, from the plow and the pedometer to the earliest remains of the American Indian. One finds an account of most of the devices invented or adapted to the needs and comforts of Monticello, of the curious uses of the East Room of the White House, of activities and discussions in connection with the Mammouth and the Megalonyx, and of the significant role played by Jefferson in the futile but fairly typical debate over the degeneracy of life forms in the Americas. An interesting chapter is devoted to the political and religious controversies which turned on Jefferson's addiction to what was described as "philosophy," and its effects on his personal beliefs and morals. All this would be made considerably more available if the book had the appropriate index.

HARCOURT BROWN, *Brown University*

CALHOUN: BASIC DOCUMENTS. Edited and Introduced by *John M. Anderson*. (State College, Pa., Bald Eagle Press, 1952, pp. 329, \$5.00.) According to the brief

foreword and the not much longer introduction to Mr. Anderson's volume of Calhoun documents, the selections were chosen for their importance to an understanding of the great South Carolinian's political thought. The *Disquisition on Government* is followed by eleven speeches, beginning with the young Calhoun's barbed reply to Randolph on the war measures of December, 1811, and ending with the dying statesman's last appeal for unity in March of 1850. The selections do, indeed, reveal the evolution of a very fine mind, but they do not offer the best or most complete expressions of a developing concept of the nature of government. While the early speeches—and to an even greater extent the Reports of the War Department period—are valuable documents, Calhoun's distinctive political theory cannot in fact be traced farther back than the beginning of the Nullification controversy in 1828. The inclusion of three of those early speeches here, therefore, serves no purpose except to demonstrate the obvious point that Calhoun changed his views. For an understanding of his political theory, the tariff speech of August, 1842, is far more valuable than the tariff speech of 1816, which Mr. Anderson chooses in preference, and the speeches on the Mexican War are of much greater significance than those on the War of 1812. Indeed, the omissions, given the avowed principle of selection, are startling. Even if we grant that space limitations forced the editor to leave out the incomplete *Discourse on the Constitution*, it is difficult to justify the choice of the overlong speech of 1833 on the Force Bill in preference to any of the thoughtful and important papers that covered the same ground over the preceding five years, particularly the Fort Hill Address of 1831 and the Letter to Governor Hamilton in 1832. The present reviewer also misses the 1843 letter to William Smith on the Rhode Island controversy, the letter on the appointment of electors in 1846, and the Address to the Southern Delegates early in 1849. Two speeches on fiscal policy are included, but not the definitive speech of March 21, 1834, on Webster's proposal to recharter the Bank. Similar questions might be raised with respect to most of the included items. The documents selected are reprinted with a minimum of editorial comment, in a durable and attractive volume. It would be a more useful and more revealing one if it were 50 per cent longer, with selections more carefully chosen to meet the purpose in hand.

CHARLES M. WILTSE, *Washington, D.C.*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF DANIEL LINDLEY (1801-80), MISSIONARY TO THE ZULUS, PASTOR OF THE VOORTREKKERS, UBEBE OMHLOPE. By *Edwin W. Smith*. (London, Epworth Press; New York, Library Publishers, 1949, pp. xxx, 456, \$5.50.) Born in western Pennsylvania in 1801, Daniel Lindley was no doubt predestined for church work; his father, Jacob, was a Presbyterian minister, and his mother, on learning that her son was going to Africa, wrote that she had given him to the Lord at birth, and her prayers for him were now answered. Before this time, his ancestors, of English Puritan stock, had come to New England via the Netherlands and had moved west until, in 1808, the missionary's father was appointed by General Rufus Putnam to the position of preceptor of the newly established university in Athens, Ohio. Here Daniel Lindley graduated A.B. in 1820; and, after training at Hampden-Sydney, Virginia, and a brief pastorate in North Carolina, began in 1834 the extraordinary career in South Africa which absorbed his tireless energies for more than forty years. Details of Lindley's work with the Voortrekkers (whose migration from the British-ruled Cape Colony began in 1836) and with the native Zulus, whom he served with equal zeal, can not be given here. Suffice it to say that, apart from his religious devotion, he had all the physical and personal qualities needed for pioneering, whether in his native country or in the land where his services are still

gratefully remembered. Written by an Englishman born in South Africa, this scholarly biography seems to have been largely completed by 1942, according to a preface dated from Hartford, Connecticut. It is solidly based on copious letters and diaries as well as archival material. The author, himself a clergyman with personal knowledge of much of the area traversed by Lindley, has more than a dozen books on Africa to his credit, besides being well versed in United States history. None then could be better qualified to write in its wider context the detailed but extremely interesting and eminently readable life of one of the first American missionaries to the Dark Continent, whose parish at one time embraced Natal, the Orange territory, and the Transvaal.

R. I. LOVELL, *Willamette University*

HENRY ADAMS: SCIENTIFIC HISTORIAN. By *William H. Jordy*. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies, XVI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952, pp. xv, 327, \$5.00.) For a "failure" Henry Adams has had a remarkable success in stimulating inquiry and discussion. In the flood of articles and books that have appeared during recent years the volume under review stands out for the thoroughness of its scholarship, the excellence of its style, and the acuteness of its perceptions. Dr. Jordy set himself the task of trailing Adams through the various studies the noted historian engaged in for the purpose of establishing history on a scientific foundation. There was real need for such an analysis because Adams' disquisitions on the philosophy of history and his prophecies of doom have been accepted by many as oracular pronouncements. The results of Dr. Jordy's study damage, apparently beyond repair, Adams' claim to have placed history on a scientific basis by adapting to human events the principle of the degradation of energy. The scientific erudition which, it was presumed, underlay his philosophic structure turns out to be second-rate science filtered through a first-class amateur's mind: "Thought-provoking, his historical speculation was not genuinely thoughtful." His pretentiousness of language and claims to scientific objectivity hid half-knowledge and concealed a tendency to invoke science in behalf of preconceived theories. After this destructive dissection of Adams' "science" of history (and Irving Brant's comments in this *Review*, July, 1952), one wonders if President Eliot wasn't nearly right after all in considering Adams a much over-rated man. And yet one hesitates to agree with Eliot. Though Adams was occasionally small and bitten with mean prejudices, his main ideas were big. He loved to twist the tail of the cosmos, but his reach exceeded his grasp according to Dr. Jordy, who shows that here again Adams "failed" as he had in other enterprises. Whatever may be the judgment on Adams' later years when, as Justice Holmes said, he reduced everything to ashes, the influence of his early teaching career and his writing of formal American history must be rated very high. In his character as professor and writer of American history and biography he was the most skilled of professionals; as propounder of a "science" of history he was an imaginative amateur. The author, in his very detailed search of Adams' reading in science, went far afield to trace the genealogy of his thought. Perhaps his labors were unnecessarily exhaustive but thanks to him no one need repeat the journey. The stature of Adams is diminished, and in the process Dr. Jordy is revealed as a new historian with splendid talent.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College, New York*

CHARLES WADDELL CHESNUTT: PIONEER OF THE COLOR LINE. By *Helen M. Chesnutt*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1952, pp. viii, 324, \$5.00.) For both American literature and history the long-needed biography of

Charles Waddell Chesnutt (1858-1932) has been written by a daughter, Helen M. Chesnutt, graduate of Smith College and now retired after a professional lifetime as a teacher in Central High School, Cleveland. The book was many years in preparation. It draws copiously from Mr. Chesnutt's diary and letters, including correspondence with George Washington Cable, Albion Tourgée, Walter Hines Page, George H. Mifflin, Booker T. Washington, and others. These papers, as well as much other manuscript material, are now lodged at Fisk University. In literature, Chesnutt's short stories have been frequently compared with those of such writers of Negro plantation life as Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, and Harry Stillwell Edwards, but there is a difference. Though Chesnutt could "pass" as white, he thought his stories were "the first contribution by an American of acknowledged African descent to purely imaginative literature" (p. 68). Readers may often feel in Chesnutt's stories the sense of the author's belonging to the race rather than merely writing of it, especially in the stories of conjuration found in *The Conjure Woman* (1899), and of the color line appearing in *The Wife of His Youth, and Other Stories of the Color Line* (1899). His novels also are infused with the distinction of an avowed Negro writing of miscegenation in *The House behind the Cedars* (1900), of the 1898 race riot at Wilmington, North Carolina, in *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), and of the convict lease system in the South in *The Colonel's Dream* (1905). For the historian, Mr. Chesnutt's articles and lectures provide good fare for any study of race relations in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He opposed labor unions because they did not provide for the Negro; he believed in the intermarriage of the races; he stood strongly for actual social, civil, and political equality. Though a friend of Booker T. Washington, he believed, as Miss Chesnutt states, that "Washington's policy of conciliation with the South . . . was paving the way for complete disfranchisement in the South and a permanent status of inferiority for the Negro" (p. 191), and he encouraged higher academic and professional education for Negroes. The Chesnutts were a family of six—a distinguished and educated family of mixed blood. Miss Chesnutt has wisely elected to include much family correspondence, and in so doing she has presented an accurate though restrained picture of the family as it moved in Cleveland society during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and the first three of the present. The book is an indispensable chapter in the history of a rising race.

LYON N. RICHARDSON, *Western Reserve University*

THE MENNONITE CHURCH IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. By *Guy Franklin Hershberger*, Professor of History and Sociology, Goshen College. (Scottsdale, Pa., Mennonite Publishing House, 1951, pp. xii, 308, \$3.50.) Mr. Hershberger has written a full, official history of the impact of the Second World War on the Mennonite Church, as well as a detailed account of the work of that church during the war in Mennonite missions, education, relief, voluntary service, and intergroup relations. The main interest of the volume centers around the results of the thorough test which the Mennonite nonresistance principles evoked. Dr. Hershberger found that in neither World War I nor II was the church or its members adequately prepared for a war crisis, although the church had made better preparations for World War II. Even then 40 per cent of its young men went into military service or gave little evidence of having read *peace* literature, or understanding the historic basis of Mennonite nonresistance. Mr. Hershberger reports sizable groups lacked clear convictions as to why they had chosen to serve in Civilian Public Service Camps. There is a wider understanding today of the basis of conscientious nonresistance tenets like the Mennonites—but the author does not present his church as having arrived at a new

approach to the basic dilemma nor developed answers beyond an expansion of their missionary and social services. There seems to have been little recognition within the Mennonite Church that nonresistance by itself does little to rid the world of war, and so remains inadequate to stop war in a modern world where peace has to be organized. Moreover there was no effective examination or response to the problems that come if a country refuses to defend itself against aggression. The Mennonites also did little to answer another fundamental question: Does nonresistance not entail a negative approach alone—while our world demands a positive approach to peace and an organization for it? A grave criticism of the nonresister is that he is concerned merely "to save his own skin." Mr. Hershberger gives a detailed account of how in refutation of this charge the Mennonites, like other pacifist groups, wisely provided work camps, fire-fighting, and work in mental hospitals for their young men. An interesting point arose in regard to the position of those Mennonites engaged in essential war industries. Their church, recognizing that workers in war industries were as important to a modern war effort as soldiers, applied to industry the same rules as those in regard to active service. Many members consequently withdrew from factories helping to support the war. This book should serve as a useful reference work for students of Mennonite history and nonresistance but it is of interest primarily for its factual material. The problem of presenting a mass of facts enmeshed the author in insignificant detail and resulted in some deficiencies of style.

ANNE G. PANNELL, *Sweet Briar College*

THE FARMER TAKES A HAND: THE ELECTRIC POWER REVOLUTION IN RURAL AMERICA. By *Marquis Childs*. Introduction by Senator George D. Aiken. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1952, pp. 256, \$3.50.) For years the American farmer has been a seeker of cheap power, having utilized "the wind, animals, falling water, gasoline motors, and the human back." Within recent years he has begun to use "the miracle of electric power," a "fluid energy [that] is cheaper, more efficient to use, and more pliable than any of the other forms of energy." The author of this popularly written account, a native of Iowa and a student at the University of Wisconsin when the progressive tradition on the campus and in the state was quite strong, writes with feeling and warmth. Making plain his sympathy for the rural electrification program of "the New Deal and the Fair," he discusses briefly the early beginnings of the movement in the various sections of the country, the opposition of the private utility interests, the lethargy of the farmer, the accomplishments, and the future promise of electrification. For the scholar wanting to know all the available facts and looking for references to sources, both primary and secondary, this book will be disappointing. It is written for the average lay reader anxious to learn something about a subject that is relatively new. As such it will probably receive the warmest reception and will arouse considerable interest on the part of the reader. The cosmopolitan journalistic interests of the author have taken him into quarters of investigation where many scholars might never have ventured.

THEODORE SALOUTOS, *University of California, Los Angeles*

WORKING WITH ROOSEVELT. By *Samuel I. Rosenman*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1952, pp. xiv, 560, \$6.00.) Samuel I. Rosenman was associated with Franklin D. Roosevelt for seventeen years, from the campaign for the governorship of New York in 1928 until the return from Yalta in 1945. The early, casual relationship became a significant one; neither Louis M. Howe nor Harry Hopkins served more faithfully. Although the book is frankly partisan, it contributes in several important

respects to an understanding of an era. Even those familiar with the presidential office will find great interest in the speech-making process, as described by Rosenman, the principal ghost-writer. A first draft was prepared from materials from several sources; revisions were made not only by Rosenman but by one or more of a shifting group of whom Robert E. Sherwood was probably the most effective. Working under pressure, some six or seven drafts would be written, with the President both collaborating and integrating skillfully the words and ideas of others so that the speech as delivered seemed to be Roosevelt's alone. Several well-known phrases were contributed by associates of the President, such as "the forgotten man" by Moley, "economic royalists" by Hopkins, and "the new deal" by Rosenman, although the exact origins of the latter term are in dispute. In presenting a picture of Roosevelt, the author gives also one of himself, as loyal, self-effacing, and discreet, but no mere yes-man. He was proud of his contributions and quite confident of their importance to the President and his objectives. The startling proposal of Roosevelt to Willkie, made in July, 1944, that they join forces to form a new liberal party will be received by many with surprise. It is difficult to believe that so experienced and successful a politician as Roosevelt, under whose leadership the Democratic party achieved its greatest victories, could have intended seriously such a plan, although he enjoyed the mysterious secrecy of the negotiations. In point of fact, the southern Democrats, of whom he was so critical, had supported consistently his foreign policy and were, to that extent, "liberal." Many "liberal" Republicans had opposed the foreign policy, although supporting most of the domestic New Deal. The probability is that Roosevelt was bluffing, as he must have realized the immense difficulty of forming a new major party. Despite the obvious bias of the author, his description of a critical period and his interpretation of a complex personality have historical interest and value.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS OF JAMES STEPHEN HOGG. Edited and with a Biographical Sketch by *Robert C. Cotner*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1951, pp. xi, 579, \$6.00.) Opening with a concise and readable twenty-five-page biographical sketch, this collection of Governor Hogg's state papers and addresses presents a record of that prodigious Texan's struggles with the "interests" which, in the 1890's, were employing the usual methods to obtain governmental favors and evade governmental regulation. Although not a Populist, the governor shared the political attitudes and, to a lesser extent, the economic aims of agrarian reformers in the South and Middle West during the heyday of Populism. At insurance companies, railroads, and landholding companies, he struck vigorous and effective blows, both as attorney general and as governor. This collection of papers covers the period 1886-1905, but considerably more than half the volume is devoted to the years 1891-1894. The papers include political speeches, messages to the legislature, correspondence, statutes, and a small number of nonpolitical addresses. Professor Cotner has provided editorial notes and annotations which, without crowding the pages with fine print, give additional and helpful information. Numerous photographs, in addition to portraying Texans of the 1890's, take the reader back to the simple days of honest and forthright photography.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE TEXAN SANTA FE TRAIL. By *H. Bailey Carroll*. (Canyon, Tex., Panhandle-Plains Historical Society, 1951, pp. 201, \$5.00.) The Texan Santa Fe Expedition sent out in 1841 by President Mirabeau B. Lamar of the Republic of Texas has been the subject of a number of articles and books. Of these the best known is the two-volume *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* by George Wilkins Kendall. While all of these earlier accounts have given some attention to the line of march of the Santa Fe Pioneers, as those making the journey were officially called, this book by Mr. Carroll is the first attempt to trace in detail the exact route followed. The military force of the expedition consisted of six companies which with the addition of merchants, teamsters, and visitors brought the total number of men to about 321. The Pioneers left their assembly ground east of Round Rock, Texas, on June 19 and traveled north and slightly west to a point in Clay County only a short distance south of Red River. Here they turned west and eventually southwest, crossing and recrossing the Wichita River, and then journeyed west and northwest across the Texas Panhandle. They crossed the border of Texas near the southwest corner of Deaf Smith County and entered New Mexico. They then continued a little north of west to a point near the border of Quay and Guadalupe counties, New Mexico, where the main force surrendered to Mexican troops under the command of Colonel J. Andres Archuleta. They had made a march which, in point of distance traveled, dwarfs that of Xenophon's immortal Ten Thousand. The book shows every evidence of long and diligent research. The author has not only examined with care every document

and printed account of the journey but has gone over every mile of the trail and located every camping place. The appendix giving the diary of Peter Gallagher, one of the merchants with the expedition, and the day-by-day itinerary is a valuable addition to the volume, as are the five maps, each tracing a portion of the route with relation to geographic features and present-day towns and counties. The book is an important contribution to the literature of the Southwest.

E. E. DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

THE KATY RAILROAD AND THE LAST FRONTIER. By V. V. Masterson. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1952, pp. xvi, 312, \$4.00.) Mr. Masterson sounds as though he enjoyed himself thoroughly when he wrote of the construction of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad from the time of its original incorporation in 1865 until it made connections from St. Louis and Kansas City to Galveston and San Antonio. He recounts with gusto the dreams of the first promoters, the troubles of raising money and of actual building, the fights of rival construction crews, the sense of accomplishment, the failure to obtain hoped-for land grants—thus giving some feeling of the difficulties attendant upon railroad construction in a region of sparse population. Mr. Masterson's enthusiasm is contagious and will certainly communicate itself to his readers, which one hopes will be at least somewhat more numerous than the official family of the Katy. The story unfolded by the book is obviously far short of complete. There is no thorough discussion of financing, of construction problems, of equipment and of traffic, or even of the general economic importance of the road. Also disappointing—at least to this reader—was the briefness and cursory nature of the treatment of the period when Jay Gould was in control. Now and then one questions a few facts and interpretations, as when Mr. Masterson describes Belle Starr quite differently than the excellent Harrington book which is listed in the bibliography; maybe more important, the inclusion of the Belle Starr material indicates a tendency to be diverted into interesting episodes even though they have little pertinency and reduce the meat of what is in any case a fairly small book. The professional historian will appreciate some of the details of construction, including particularly the numerous maps, and also the description of the combination of social idealism and greedy sharp dealing that marked the men who furnished the driving force for railroad construction. But likewise the professional historian will regret greatly that Mr. Masterson did not make more use of the company records to which he had access.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL, *Dartmouth College*

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Joseph R. Barager

GENERAL

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

Historical Activities

The attention of the members is called to the fact that the committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association will finance the publication of books of mature scholarship which make a distinct contribution to knowledge in any field of history. Ordinarily doctoral dissertations or works of more than one volume will not be considered. Manuscripts must be submitted to the chairman, Professor Raymond P. Stearns, 313 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, before April 1, 1953.

The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress has received four volumes of the papers of Francis Baron Howard of Effingham (1643-95), deposited by the Right Honorable Baron Munson. The papers cover Lord Effingham's four years in Virginia as governor of the royal province (1684-88) and include several of the Journals of the House of Burgesses and the Legislative and Executive Journals of the Council hitherto regarded as lost; Lord Effingham's own register of proclamations and other public documents; his letter book of communications with the home government; and a remarkable series of personal letters to his wife. These papers are available for research, but no part of them may be published without permission from the depositor, to be requested through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

A collection of some 450 items pertaining to Zachary Taylor and his son, Richard, has been donated to the Library by the grandchildren of President Taylor. It contains correspondence and business papers from 1847 to 1887 relating to the general western unrest after the Mexican War and such matters as the preparation for the President's tour of Pennsylvania and New York in August and September, 1849, the management of the Taylor plantations, and the settlement of the President's estate. Particularly noteworthy are letters received from such national figures as John M. Clayton, George W. Crawford, Jefferson Davis, Abbott Lawrence, Levi Lincoln, William Meredith, General Persifor F. Smith, and Truman Smith.

Sixty-seven manuscript sermons and a few letters of Henry Ward Beecher (1813-87), all relating to the war and postwar period, have been received from Mrs. M. V. Delgado of Washington, D.C. These supplement the Henry Ward Beecher collection already held by the Library.

Two groups of papers of particular interest to the social historian are the Sigmund Freud Papers and the Raoul Heilbrunner Papers. The Freud material, most of which is severely restricted, represents the beginning of a transfer from the Sigmund Freud Archives to the Library of Congress. The Raoul Heilbrunner Papers (ca. 1885-1914), contain the business papers and correspondence of the

celebrated Parisian antiquary who furnished, directly or through London and New York dealers, many of the great mansions from Boston to San Francisco.

A recent publication which should be of considerable value to the historical profession is *Historical Editing* by Clarence E. Carter, who since 1931 has been compiling and editing the *Territorial Papers of the United States*. Published as Number 7 in the *Bulletins* of the National Archives, Dr. Carter's 51-page pamphlet is addressed chiefly "to those who essay for the first time the task of compiling and editing the raw materials of history." It may be procured from the Government Printing Office and sells for 20 cents.

Two new items have been added to the "Facsimile Series" of the National Archives: No. 21, *Washington's Official Map of Yorktown*, and No. 22, *Washington's Inaugural Address of 1789*. Copies of these facsimiles may be obtained either from the National Archives or from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, for 75 cents apiece.

The nineteen volumes of the series "The Original Narratives of Early American History," published many years ago by Charles Scribner's Sons under the auspices of the American Historical Association and the general editorship of J. Franklin Jameson, have been reprinted by Barnes and Noble. The price of each volume is \$4.50, of the entire set \$78.50.

Two pamphlets have recently been issued by the Educational Exchange Section, International Educational Programs Branch, of the Office of Education in Washington, D.C.: *A Partial Bibliography of Materials related to (I) References on Loans, Fellowships, Scholarships, and the Exchange of Persons Programs and (II) Materials on Counseling, Guidance, and Program Planning for Persons Working with Students, Teachers, Leaders, and Professors from Other Lands*, prepared by Thomas E. Cotner and John W. Grissom, and *English Language and Orientation Programs for Foreign Students Offered by Institutions of Higher Learning in the United States, Summer 1952 and 1952-1953*, prepared by Robert Lado.

The trustees of the Ames Library of South Asia have entered into an agreement with the regents of the University of Minnesota to transfer the library to the university on or before June 29, 1961. Meanwhile the donor, Mr. C. Lesley Ames, vice-president of the West Publishing Company, will continue to augment this great private collection, which is housed in a special building on his estate, Blue Gentian Farm, near St. Paul. The library is open to scholars and others interested in India and South Asia.

The Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford, Essex, England, houses over a million documents, from A.D. 1115, including county, borough, parish, ecclesiastical, estate, and family archives. All are catalogued, and there are detailed indexes of subjects, parishes, and persons (the last contains half a million references). The county archivist (Mr. Frederick G. Emmison) will gladly answer postal inquiries from prospective postgraduate students who may be planning research in English records. He is also prepared to furnish, at moderate charges, photographs, microfilms, or other reproductions of long runs of documents or of selected documents.

At a recent conference held at the Sheraton Hotel in Chicago a group of historians proposed that a clearing agency be established to assemble and compile information relating to business records and the writing of company histories. It was agreed that contributors to the clearing agency would refer to themselves informally as the Sheraton Group. There is no membership fee; anyone may become a member by contributing information. A newsletter will be distributed from time to time as information is accumulated so that members may keep abreast of latest developments in the writing of company histories. The Business Historical Society (Soldiers Field, Boston 63, Massachusetts) has volunteered its services as the clearing agency. Anyone wishing to join the Sheraton Group should write to Hilma Holton, Secretary, The Sheraton Group, c/o The Business Historical Society.

A new periodical, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, is announced to appear this year. The announcement and the contents of the first issue indicate emphasis on the period from 1917 to the present with emphasis on the supranational character of the problems even when recent German history is considered. The bibliography of recent history will be emphasized in the early issues, and a selection of important documents will be printed. The periodical is sponsored by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich. It will be edited by Hans Rothfels and Theodor Eschenburg with whom are associated Franz Schnabel, Ludwig Dehio, Hans Speidel, Werner Conze, and Karl Erdmann. The subscription price is 20 marks per year.

Theses Supplement No. 13 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (University of London) includes also a list of theses completed since the last issue. As in the past the list includes not only Ph.D. theses but also those to be submitted for the master's degree and the B. Litt. (Oxford). The index classifies the theses by fields or topics. By a generous interpretation twenty-eight are concerned with America (United States) and New England. Of these, thirteen are to be submitted for the doctorate. There are seven entries for Canada, of which four are at the doctorate level. As might be expected there is a heavy concentration

of the ca. 1,130 topics, all degrees, in the universities of London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh. In comparison with the American list (Ph.D. only) there is a notable number of topics in the field of historical geography, and they are not confined to any one institution.

The Committee on the John Carroll Papers of the American Catholic Historical Association is anxious to locate letters written by Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore (1735-1815), or other documents of his authorship or addressed to him. Communications should be directed to the secretary of the committee, Reverend Henry J. Browne, the Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D.C.

Arthur P. Dudden of the department of history in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, is undertaking a biography of the American soap manufacturer and philanthropist, Joseph Fels, whose devotion to land-reform measures and the single-tax panacea made him a public figure in both England and the United States. Dr. Dudden would appreciate hearing from persons knowing the whereabouts of letters, speeches, memoirs, or pamphlets pertinent to his study.

The new Institute of Social Studies in The Hague opened its doors in October, 1952. Though subsidized by the Netherlands government and brought into existence through the combined efforts of all the Netherlands universities, the Institute is an independent organization. The object of the Institute is the advancement of knowledge in the social sciences with special emphasis on their comparative and international aspects, particularly the relations between East and West in modern times. With its teaching staff largely recruited from universities in the Netherlands and supplemented by visiting professors from other countries, the Institute aims first to train men and women from underdeveloped countries and second to equip technical experts with the knowledge necessary to perform their tasks in countries to which they are assigned. Courses are given in English and range from six months to two years. Further information may be obtained from the Institute, 27 Molenstraat, The Hague, Netherlands.

The annual Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held as usual at the Institute of Historical Research in London on July 10, 11, and 12, 1952. Ten papers were read and a number of social gatherings held. It was decided to hold a similar brief conference at the Institute on July 9, 10, and 11, 1953. Historians from North America who expect to be in England at that time are asked to communicate with the Secretary of the Institute (Taylor Milne, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W.C.1) early in the year, so that invitations may be sent to them.

The Canadian Historical Association held its annual meeting June 4-6, 1952,

at Laval University, Quebec City, Quebec. Papers included "The Indian Background of Canadian History" by G. F. G. Stanley, "Les origines de l'Université Laval" by Abbé Arthur Maheux, "Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Lord Minto" by H. Pearson Gundy, and "Les Canadiens français et la naissance de la Confédération" by Jean-Charles Bonenfant. In addition to these, Jean Bruchési delivered his presidential address on "L'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada," there was a symposium on local history, and members made several trips to points of historical interest. C. P. Stacey was elected president for 1952-53 and M. H. Long vice-president.

In August, 1952, the Friends' Historical Society held its annual meeting in Lancaster, England. Frederick B. Tolles of the Huntington Library, the seventh American to be president of this English society in the fifty years of its existence, delivered an address on "The Atlantic Community of the Early Friends."

The second annual meeting of the New York State Association of European Historians was held at Cornell University October 17-18. Membership in the association is limited to upstate New York. Fifty-two historians, representing twenty-three institutions were present. Officers elected for the coming year are Edgar Graves, Hamilton College, president; Evelyn Acomb, New Paltz Teachers College, vice-president; and Karl H. Dannenfeldt, Elmira College, secretary-treasurer.

The autumn Upper Midwest History Conference was held on the campus of the University of Minnesota on October 17. Professor Lawrence Steefel of the University of Minnesota presided. A paper entitled "The Influence of the United States in the Italian Migrations of the Twentieth Century" was read by George R. Gilkey of Wisconsin State College at River Falls. Comments were made by Carlton Qualey of Carleton College. Chairman of the semiannual conferences in 1953 will be Dr. Qualey. Walker D. Wyman was re-elected secretary.

On March 29, 1952, a Conference on American Indian Studies was held at the Newberry Library, attended by twenty of the leading anthropologists and historians in the country, to talk about the possibility and the desirability of co-operative effort in the field. A frank discussion of the methodologies of the two disciplines resulted in the interesting conclusion that fundamentally there was or should be little real difference between them, and that specialists in each would benefit greatly from some use of the techniques and the knowledge of the other.

After a lapse of forty years (1911-52) the Mississippi Historical Society was revived at a meeting in Jackson on October 3. An interim executive committee

will prepare for a meeting in the spring of 1953 and for other matters such as a constitution, recruiting members, etc. The chairman of the committee is Professor James W. Silver of the University of Mississippi. During the moratorium the *Journal of Mississippi History* was established and has appeared since 1939.

An international convention on the study of medieval historical sources will be held in Rome, April 14-18, 1953, to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the Istituto Storico Italiano.

The American Numismatic Society will repeat its summer seminar in 1953 and again offers grants-in-aid to students who will have completed at least one year's graduate study by June in classics, archaeology, history, economics, art, or other humanistic fields. Applications will be accepted also from students on the postgraduate level who now hold college instructorships in the same fields. Each study grant will carry a stipend of \$500. This offer is restricted to students enrolled in universities in the United States and Canada. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between 155 and 156th Streets, New York 32, New York. Completed applications for the grants must be filed by March 1, 1953.

The University of Delaware and the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, have inaugurated a two-year graduate program leading to the master's degree in American decorative arts and cultural history. The aims of the program are to encourage research in the art and culture of the United States from 1640 to 1840, together with the European sources, and to train students for careers in museum work and in teaching. Ten fellowships have been established which provide an annual stipend of \$2,000 for two years. The degree program is limited to the students awarded these fellowships, of which five are open each year. The courses at the university, but not the laboratory work at Winterthur, are open to any qualified student. Inquiries about the fellowships should be addressed to Dean Carl J. Rees, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

Three \$4000 postdoctoral fellowships in statistics are offered for 1953-54 by the University of Chicago. The purpose of these fellowships, which are open to holders of the doctor's degree or its equivalent in research accomplishment, is to acquaint established research workers in the biological, physical, and social sciences with the role of modern statistical analysis in planning experiments, investigative programs, and the analysis of empirical data. The closing date for applications is February 1, 1953; instructions for applying may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago 37.

The Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize, awarded by Alfred A. Knopf and comprising five hundred dollars in cash and a contract for publication, is offered this year for manuscripts in American history. The award is offered in even years for works in political science and in odd years for works in American history. The closing date for entries is July 31, 1953, but those who intend to enter their manuscripts are requested to write for information and entry blanks to Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

With this issue Joseph R. Barager, of the Department of State, succeeds James S. Cunningham as compiler of the Latin-American lists of periodical articles for the *Review*.

Eugene M. Emme, formerly associate professor of history in the Air University Research Studies Institute, has recently been appointed director of the graduate study group of the Air War College.

Ann L. Eastman has been promoted to the rank of full professor of history in Alabama College.

Malcolm C. McMillan, head of the department of history and government in the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, has been named research professor of history.

John H. Mundy has been appointed assistant professor of history in Barnard College, Columbia University.

Robert W. Twyman has been promoted to associate professor of history at Bowling Green State University.

On the Davis campus of the University of California C. Bickford O'Brien has been named acting chairman of the department of history and political science and W. Sheridan Warrick is acting instructor of history.

Lowell R. Tillett, assistant professor of history in Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City, Tennessee, has been granted a second year's leave of absence for graduate study in the University of North Carolina. Edward H. Gibson, III, is teaching during the current academic year in the department of history at Carson-Newman.

Melvin Kranzberg, formerly of Amherst College, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of social studies in the Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland.

John Albert White has joined the Claremont Graduate School faculty as visiting associate professor of history and international relations.

John E. MacNab, the 1951-52 John W. Dafoe Fellow in Canadian-American relations, has been appointed national research director for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Ottawa.

Reinhard H. Luthin is serving as Fulbright professor of American history in the University of Dacca in Pakistan during the current academic year.

The department of history at the University of Delaware announces the appointment of Walter L. Woodfill as assistant professor and of John L. Beatty as instructor. Walther Kirchner is on leave as a Fulbright research scholar at the University of Copenhagen. H. Clay Reed has become chairman of the newly established university committee on American studies.

At Duke University William T. Laprade has retired as chairman of the department of history but will continue his other duties. Charles S. Sydnor, dean of the graduate school, will also serve as chairman of the department. Joel Colton has been promoted to assistant professor of history.

H. H. Cunningham has gone from the University of North Carolina to Elon College as chairman of the department of history.

Rembert W. Patrick of the department of history, University of Florida, has been appointed associate editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

Gerhart B. Ladner has been appointed associate professor of history in the graduate school of Fordham University.

In the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia Kenneth Coleman has been promoted to assistant professor of history and Henry T. Malone has been appointed assistant professor of history.

William E. Lunt retired in June from his post as Walter D. and Edith M. L. Scull Professor of English Constitutional History at Haverford College. R. F. Arragon of Reed College is serving as visiting professor of history during 1952-53.

Siegfried Rolland, formerly of Wayne University, has been appointed assistant professor of social sciences in the University of Idaho.

Frederick H. Jackson has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the division of general studies at the University of Illinois.

Jane Carson, formerly assistant in manuscripts at the University of Virginia and sometime professor of history at Sophie Newcomb, has accepted a position as assistant to the director at the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg.

James E. Seaver has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Kansas.

Alfred W. Newcombe, chairman of the department of history in Knox College, who has served the college for the past thirty-two years, was recently named the first distinguished service professor on the Edna Belle Smith Brown Foundation.

Albert Hyma is in Europe on sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan. His courses are being given by John E. Bingley and Norman D. Kurland.

Sydney N. Fisher of the Ohio State University has been granted a leave of absence for the current academic year to serve as director of publications for the Middle East Institute and editor of the *Middle East Journal* during the absence of Harvey P. Hall.

At Mount Holyoke College Viola F. Barnes retired in June after thirty-three years of service. Wilma Pugh has been promoted to associate professor of history and named chairman of the department. Mary Benson, formerly of Milwaukee Downer, has been appointed associate professor, and David Leonard, formerly of the University of Michigan, has been appointed instructor in history.

George B. Tindall has been appointed to the faculty of the department of history in the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Philip P. Poirier has been appointed instructor in history at the Ohio State University.

Edward Everett Dale of the University of Oklahoma retired from active service on July 1, 1952, but as emeritus professor he will be available for consultation by graduate students. Professor Dale has been a member of the

department of history for thirty-eight years and for half this time was chairman of the department. Donald Berthrong, recently of the University of Kansas City, has been appointed to teach the courses in the history of the west. Alfred B. Sears, chairman of the department, will spend the second semester, 1952-53, in England.

J. Cutler Andrews has been promoted to professor of history in the Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh.

Luis M. Díaz Soler has succeeded Arturo Morales Carrión as chairman of the department of history in the University of Puerto Rico.

Duncan S. Ballantine, formerly associate professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been named president of Reed College, Portland, Oregon. Also at Reed, Charles C. Bagg has been promoted to associate professor of history and humanities and Frank S. Fussner to assistant professor.

Edmund T. Peckham has been appointed instructor in history and political science at the Rice Institute.

Benjamin Franklin Gilbert has been promoted to assistant professor of history in San Jose State College.

James E. Gillespie, who has retired from Pennsylvania State College, is teaching during the present academic year in the University of Tennessee.

At the University of Texas, Ralph Steen of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College is substituting for Fulmer Mood, who is on leave for a year. William Braisted is also on leave and is at Harvard.

Robert W. Coonrod has been named assistant professor of history in the department of social sciences at the United States Military Academy.

Oron J. Hale has returned from two years with the High Commission in Germany to his post as professor of history in the University of Virginia.

J. D. Forbes, professor of history and fine arts at Wabash College, has been named editor of the *Journal* of the Society of Architectural Historians.

RECENT DEATHS

Michael Ivanovich Rostovtzeff, emeritus professor of history in Yale University, died October 20 after a long illness. Professor Rostovtzeff was born in Kiev, Russia, eighty-one years ago. He was already known as a historian and

classical scholar when he came to this country and began teaching at the University of Wisconsin in 1920. He became almost at once a popular lecturer within and without the university. His genial and friendly ways and high standards of scholarship assured him a welcome among the historians of this country. After five years at Wisconsin he accepted a call as professor of ancient history and archaeology in Yale University. Here he repeated in a different environment the success of his Wisconsin career. He retired in 1944. Many honors had come to him, among others the presidency of the American Historical Association in 1935. His books and articles on historical and archaeological subjects gave him high rank as a student of the ancient world. He directed the archaeological work at Dura, and the last work he touched was the volumes on the discoveries at Dura. It is, however, as a historian with emphasis on economic factors in the ancient world that he takes his place of honor. Of the many books and articles that bear his name it is sufficient here to name only three: *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), *A History of the Ancient World*, two volumes (1926-27), and *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, three volumes (1941).

Benedetto Croce, distinguished Italian historian and philosopher, died November 20, 1952, in Naples. The telegraphic dispatches from Naples give a vivid picture of city and nation-wide mourning. Both branches of the Italian parliament (he was a member of the Senate) adjourned and sent delegations to the memorial services. He was born in 1866 of well-to-do parents, both of whom were killed in an earthquake. He was educated at the University of Rome. Abandoning the study of law, he turned to history, literature, and philosophy. He moved to Naples, buying a villa once occupied by Vico, to whose thought he felt an intellectual kinship. Ample means enabled him to travel and to pursue his research and writing with a private library of 60,000 books. Toward the close of his life he founded and endowed an institute in Naples. His many books and articles make an imposing bibliography. A number have been translated into English as well as other languages. The best known perhaps is *History: Its Theory and Practice* (1921). Members will recall that at the close of his presidential address, "Written History as an Act of Faith," Charles A. Beard read a characteristic letter he had elicited from Croce in response to an invitation to attend the meeting in Urbana (*AHR*, XXXIX, [January, 1934], 229-31). Unlike Santayana he was not a man of the closet but an open controversialist in a way that brought him into conflict with Marxism, the church, and the fascist state. He held office in the cabinet of Giolitti as minister of education, 1920-22, and a member of the Senate from 1910 until removed from office and his professorship in Naples by Mussolini. He was a monarchist, a liberal who would delegate authority to a political elite whose power did not spring from the choice of the most numerous economic class. He was too distinguished for the fascists to persecute him. His writings with their tinge of

neo-Hegelianism and romanticism have been criticized by some as a philosophic background for the fascist state. It is certain that for a long time to come he will remain in death as he was in life, a center of a controversy touching much of what he wrote and did. He was one of the two Italian scholars who were honorary life members of this Association.

Eugene Hugh Byrne, professor emeritus of history at Columbia University, died at his home in Princeton, New Jersey, on September 23. Born in Baraboo, Wisconsin, November 16, 1882, Dr. Byrne began his long academic career in his native state. He received a B. L. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1903 and his doctorate in history from the same institution twelve years later. In 1910 he was invited to the University of Pennsylvania as a Harrison Fellow in history. Subsequently, he taught for a brief time at Amherst before returning to Wisconsin as an instructor in 1912. He remained at his alma mater until 1931 when he accepted the post of professor of history at Columbia. After eighteen years of service principally at Barnard College, where he was for long the executive officer of the department, he retired in 1949.

An authority in medieval history with special emphasis on economic aspects of the European Mediterranean he contributed many articles and book reviews on medieval trade to historical journals. He was best known for his scholarly research on the archives of Genoa and was the first American to discover the wealth of notarial documents which these archives contained. His authoritative volume, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Medieval Academy of America Publications, no. 5, Monographs 1, 1930) won him distinction. In 1931 he was a Guggenheim Fellow.

Important as his researches were, Dr. Byrne will best be remembered as a popular and inspiring instructor. Fortunately, he possessed those traits which one associates with the successful teacher. His wit and humor, his understanding of youth, his sense of value and insistence upon excellence of performance, and, above all, his mastery of his subject combined to make him an outstanding teacher.

Harold Adams Innis, distinguished Canadian economic historian, died in Toronto November 8. Professor Innis was born in 1894. He took his undergraduate work in McMaster's University in 1916 and went on to his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1920. In this year he began his teaching career in the University of Toronto. At the time of his death he was professor of economics and head of the department and dean of the graduate school in Toronto. In 1948 he was Beit lecturer at Oxford University and Cust lecturer at the University of Nottingham. He treated in turn historically the chief products in the economic development of Canada: furs, fisheries, mining, agriculture, transportation, and the press. He was author or editor of volumes in each of these fields, as well as of more general works dealing with economic relations between Great Britain,

Canada, and the United States, and he contributed many articles and reviews to the learned journals of Canada and the United States. The editors of the *American Historical Review* had profited by his services as a reviewer, and he was an attendant of and also a participant in the programs of the annual meeting of the American Historical and American Economic Associations.

Owen Cochran Coy, emeritus professor of California and western United States history at the University of Southern California, died at his home in Los Angeles on August 31, 1952. He was born in Farragut, Iowa, on April 16, 1884. His educational degrees included the Ph.B. at College of the Pacific in 1907, an M.A. degree from Stanford University in 1909, and the Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1918. His field of specialization was the middle and later periods of California history, in which he became a leading authority, serving as secretary and director of the California Historical Survey Commission, 1915-1923, historian of the State Council of Defense, 1918-1919, and director and executive secretary of the California State Historical Association, acting in the latter capacity until shortly before his retirement. He also served as state technical director of the Historical Records Survey, WPA, in 1936. He joined the staff of the history department of the University of Southern California in 1925, teaching there until his retirement in 1950.

Dr. Coy was the author of many articles and books on California history, the more important works being a *Guide to the County Archives of California* (1921), *Genesis of California Counties* (1923), *Gold Days* (1929), *The Humboldt Bay Region 1850-1875* (1929), *The Great Trek* (1930), and *In the Diggings in 'Forty-nine* (1948). He also served in an editorial capacity on various occasions, notably for the *Pictorial History of California* (1925) and for the *California History Nugget*.

Frank Harmon Garver, seventy-seven, professor of history at the University of Southern California for nineteen years until his retirement in 1945, died on September 24 after several years of failing health. One of the West's leading authorities on early United States history of the colonial and revolutionary periods, Dr. Garver was a former president of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. He was chairman of the Southern California department of history for three years. Dr. Garver contributed to various professional journals and was on the editorial board of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. Dr. Garver was born March 9, 1875, at Albion, Marshall County, Iowa. He graduated from Upper Iowa University in 1898, and received his master's and doctor's degrees from the University of Iowa in 1907 and 1912. He taught at the State Normal College, Dillon, Montana, until 1926 when he joined the Southern California faculty.

Victor Hugo Paltsits died October 3 at the age of eighty-five. Mr. Paltsits was associated with the New York Public Library from 1888 to 1945. During this period he was also New York state historian from 1907 to 1911. His chief responsibility from 1914 to 1941 was as keeper of manuscripts in the library. In this long span of service he produced as writer or editor an overflowing list of volumes all marked by high standards of scholarship. He especially enriched our knowledge of the history of the state and city of New York. Countless students, writers, and publishers are his debtors for the aid and advice he gave so freely and graciously. Both Brown University and Rutgers University had conferred on him the degree of doctor of literature. He was a life member of this Association and served it well as chairman of the national public archives commission whose work played a considerable part in the establishment of the present National Archives in Washington. He was a founding member of the Society of American Archivists and an honorary member when he retired in 1942.

Robert K. Richardson, professor emeritus of history in Beloit College, died August 8 at the age of seventy-six. Born in Hartford, Connecticut, he graduated from Yale University in 1898 and proceeded by way of the master's degree in 1899 to his doctorate in 1902. He had been preceded at Yale by his brother, Oliver, later an assistant professor in Yale and professor of history at the University of Washington. These were the days when Edward Gaylord Bourne and George Burton Adams were a whole graduate historical department in themselves. Robert Richardson spent his whole active teaching life from 1901 to 1947 in devoted service to Beloit College. There he became almost an institution himself. His last task, completed shortly before his death, was the manuscript of a history of the college and a volume of illustrative documents. Devoted to his students and highly regarded by them he also took an active part in the civic and religious life of the city. From 1946 to 1949 he was president of the Wisconsin State Historical Society and in 1949-50 president of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters. He edited for the Camden Society *Gesta Dunelmensia* (1924) and published an extended study of the *Bishopric of Durham under Anthony Bek, 1283-1311* (1913). He was also author of articles and reviews in learned journals. One of his last acts was to renew his long-standing membership in this Association.

Harrison John Thornton, professor of history in the University of Iowa, died on September 22. He was born in Liverpool, England, in 1894 and came to this country when twenty years old. He obtained his bachelor's degree at Grinnell College in 1925 and his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1929. He taught briefly at Grinnell and then joined the staff of the University of Iowa in 1929. His doctor's dissertation was on the history of the Quaker Oats Company. His

own later interest and that of his students was in the social and economic aspects of American life and the history of the South. A memorial fund will be raised to ensure the publication of a completed manuscript on the history of Chautauqua. He was a very successful lecturer to popular audiences throughout the state and at commencements. His kindly, gentle ways made him friends both on and off the campus.

H. J. Eckenrode, state historian of Virginia until 1948, died in Richmond, September 27, at the age of seventy-three. Dr. Eckenrode was a graduate of the University of Virginia and received his doctor's degree from Johns Hopkins. He was the author of *A Political History of Virginia during the Reconstruction*, *The Revolution in Virginia*, and biographies of McClellan, Jefferson Davis, Longstreet, Forrest, Hayes, and E. H. Harriman.

Horace C. Peterson, professor of European history in the University of Oklahoma, died on June 19 as a result of a cranial fracture suffered when he fell on the stairs of one of the university buildings. Dr. Peterson, who was fifty years old, had been a member of the staff of the department of history since 1936. He was the author of *Propaganda for War* (Norman, 1939) and had two manuscripts ready for the press at the time of his death, "Public Opinion in the United States, 1917-1919" and "The War Diary of Irwin Hoover."

Mark Sullivan, journalist and historian, died August 13 in his seventy-ninth year. His six volumes entitled *Our Times* and covering the first quarter of the twentieth century were an uneven but highly readable and suggestive attempt to catch the spirit of the America of that day. In 1938 he published his autobiography, *The Education of an American*. His work and worth won him honorary degrees from Brown, Harvard, Dartmouth, Washington and Jefferson, Bates, and St. John's.

George F. Andrews, a life member of the Association, died at his home in Gardiner, Maine, on June 19. He was eighty-four years of age. Mr. Andrews possessed a small but very valuable collection of material on North Africa, an area in which he had long been interested and on which he had written articles. He bequeathed his library to Brown University.

Grady D. Price, professor of history at Southwestern Louisiana Institute since 1940, died October 18 at the age of sixty. A graduate of Valparaiso University (1917), Dr. Price took his M.A. at Tulane University (1929) and received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas (1939).

Word has been received that on October 25 Hermann Mau, Secretary General

of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Deutsches Institut für Geschichte der national-sozialistischen Zeit) died in an automobile collision near Pforzheim (Baden), not far from the place where, shortly after his return from the United States, he had been badly hurt almost exactly a year ago in a similar accident. Dr. Mau was in his early forties. Originally a medievalist whose expanded Leipzig Ph.D. thesis, *Die Rittergesellschaften mit St. Jörgenschild in Schwaben: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Einungsbewegung im 15. Jahrhundert* was published in 1941 as Volume 33 of the *Darstellungen aus der württembergischen Geschichte*, he devoted during the last years all his energies to the organization of the Munich institute (founded in 1947, reorganized in 1950). The institute is building up a unique library and large archives concentrating on the Hitler period. Dr. Mau, who familiarized himself in the summer of 1951 with American library and archival resources on the period of National Socialism and established close relations between his institute and American scholars, will be sadly missed in future research on the most recent period of German history. His idea, to make the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, the newly founded organ of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (see p. 491 above), the symbol for international co-operation in examining the period of modern dictatorship in Europe, survives him.

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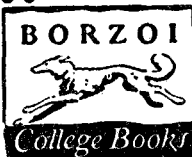
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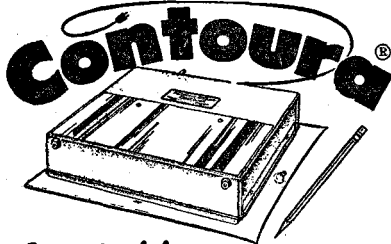
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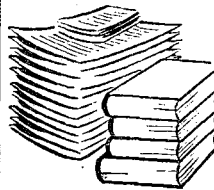
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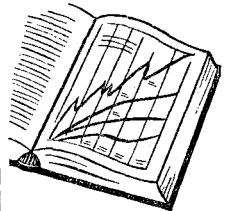
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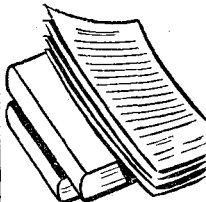
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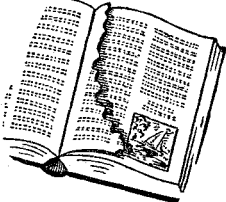
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